ṢAḤÎḤ AL-BUKHÂRÎ

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC
WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES AND INDEX

BY
MUHAMMAD ASAD
(LEOPOLD WEISS)



VOLUME I — PART I



THE ARAFAT PUBLICATIONS
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1935

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

IT is with a sense of pride that THE ARAFAT PUBLICATIONS have embarked upon the great literary venture of producing an English version of "Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî." Whereas the Holy Qur'ân has repeatedly been translated into English, the Muslims have been somewhat negligent with regard to the most authentic compilation of Traditions which, as the Translator rightly remarks in his preface, is a key to the full understanding of Islâm.

The material difficulties of this new enterprise can be easily appreciated if we realise that the text of "Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî" is more than three times that of the Qur'ân; and the explanatory notes—containing as they do references to the entire, extremely extensive, literature on Ḥadîth and an independent investigation of their historical background—will in all probability double its volume. It can be said without exaggeration that this is one of the largest literary enterprises ever attempted in the modern world of Islâm. THE ARAFAT PUBLICATIONS are bringing out this important contribution to the revival of Islâmic religious thought with the hope that the educated Muslim public will help them to accomplish this great task. The spiritual life of nations rests on the foundations of their cultural past; and the culture of the Muslims is inseparably linked with the personality of the Prophet whose sayings and deeds are commemorated in "Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî."

It has been earlier announced that each part of this work will comprise about 120 pages; it remains, therefore, to explain why the first part is considerably shorter. While it was in the press, we received numerous letters from presumptive subscribers urging us to print the Arabic text with full "i'râb," that is, with vowel signs, as otherwise its reading would be difficult for those who are not intimately acquainted with the Arabic language. As a matter of fact, we had originally intended to use vocalised types; but as the compositors in this country do not, as a rule, know Arabic, frequent mistakes in vowel signs would be unavoidable; consequently, proof-reading and correction would require much more time, and the production of each part would be considerably delayed. And so, after some hesitation, we purchased from Germany the types which the reader sees in this issue. But the increasing demands for a vocalised Arabic text compelled us to revise our plans, and we have ordered a large new set of vocalised types and decided to double our press staff. This new, unforeseen expenditure, burdensome as it is on our budget, will, so we hope, add an attraction more to our work.

The present edition may be regarded as preliminary. All subsequent parts will be printed in vocalised types, and the first part will be later reprinted in those types and supplied gratis to our permanent subscribers in order to make the whole book uniform. Those wishing to purchase the first part only will receive the present edition; and if they subsequently decide to enlist as permanent subscribers, they will receive the reprinted (vocalised) first part gratis.

We feel confident that the Muslim public will appreciate our efforts to produce this monumental work in a garb worthy of its contents, and will enable us, by subscribing to this publication, to complete it within the shortest possible time.

THE ARAFAT PUBLICATIONS.

ṢAḤÎḤ AL-BUKHÂRÎ

VOLUME I

ṢAḤÎḤ AL-BUKHÂRÎ

BEING THE TRUE ACCOUNTS OF THE SAYINGS AND DOINGS OF THE PROPHET MUḤAMMAD / HANDED DOWN FROM HIS COMPANIONS TO THOSE WHO FOLLOWED THEM / AND COMPILED IN THE THIRD CENTURY AFTER THE HIJRAH BY IMÂM ABÛ 'ABD ALLÂH MUḤAMMAD IBN ISMÂ'ÎL IBN AL-MUGHÎRAH AL-BUKHÂRÎ

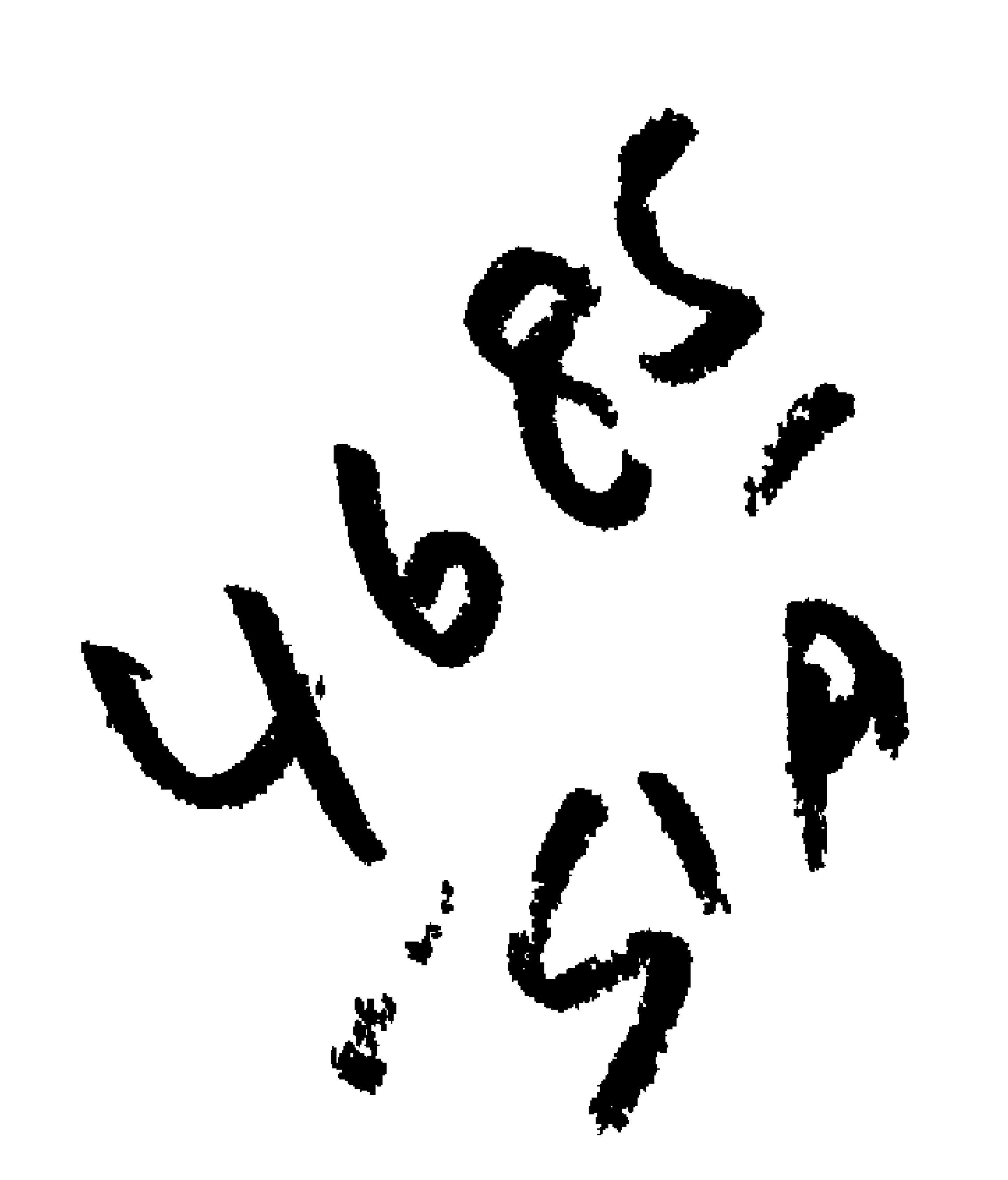
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1935


أصح الكتب
بعد كتاب الله
صحيح البخاري

لقد كان لكم في رسول الله أسوة حسنة
لمن كان يرجوا الله واليوم الآخر
وذكر الله كثيراً ۞

(سورة «الأحزاب»)

VERILY, IN THE APOSTLE OF GOD YE
HAVE A GOOD EXAMPLE FOR HIM
WHO LOOKETH FORWARD UNTO
GOD AND THE LAST DAY, AND
REMEMBERETH GOD MUCH.

(SÛRAH XXXIII, 21)

﴿ الحمد لله وحده ☆ والصلاة والسلام على من لا نبي بعده ﴾

PREFACE

I SHOULD have added to this volume a brief Introduction dealing with the history and the codification of Ḥadîth; but, in the course of a talk we had on this subject, the great Muslim poet-philosopher, Dr Sir Muḥammad Iqbâl, emphatically pointed out to me the necessity of a more elaborate treatise which would serve not only as an introduction to the study of Traditions as such, but also as a new philosophical valuation of Traditions in the conceptual structure of Islâm. The necessity of such a work had already been clearly demonstrated in Sir Iqbâl's eminently valuable "Lectures on the Reconstruction of Muslim Religious Thought"; and his direct suggestion appealed to me at once. I began working on this subject early this year, and the material soon grew to very considerable dimensions.

I realised that it would be impossible to approach the problem of Traditions without at the same time tracing the evolution of the Islâmic Canonic Law, the Sharî'ah, in the Qur'ân; and this, in its turn, would necessitate an intensive scrutiny, from the ideological point of view, of the life of Muṣṭafâ himself. The Traditions are pre-eminently historical; and it would become necessary also to investigate the Islâmic conception of history. The methods of the early Traditionists will have to be discussed in full detail; their tests of authenticity of Ḥadîth will have to be justified or modified in the light of the historical and psychological findings of the present age. Such a study of the subject, I can safely anticipate, would, to a very great extent, vindicate the methods of the early Traditionists, and especially those of Al-Bukhârî, the greatest among them. Moreover, the strange prejudices that the European orientalists have brought to bear on the subject will have to be dispassionately cleared, till the unbiased reader is able to realise that never has there existed a historical document, relating to a past event, more firmly based on facts or better authenticated by formal and internal evidence than the work which represents the climax of the science of Traditions, namely, "Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî." And perhaps the most important part of such an Introduction will have to be the appreciation of the attitude the Muslims have through the ages adopted towards some fundamental aspects of the Sharî'ah; which attitude, to anticipate again, will be found largely reflecting the meanderings of Neo-Platonic philosophy which loomed in the minds of Muslim thinkers from the second century of the Hijrah onwards, and which do not in every case coincide with the intentions of the Prophet and his Companions.

Such a study of the subject requires considerable time; and in order not to delay the publication of my translation of "Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî," I have decided to postpone the publication of the Introduction to some later date. When completed, it will be a fair-sized volume, to be published uniformly with this edition of "Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî," and will, I feel confident, facilitate the study of Ḥadîth in their relation to the philosophy of the Sharî'ah.

In anticipation of this larger Introduction I shall confine myself here to a few remarks of a general nature.

* * *

"Ḥadîth" primarily denotes a narrative or a report; in the Islâmic theological usage it has come to mean the records of the sayings and doings of the Prophet Muḥammad, and is hence

translated as "Tradition." It was as much from the Master's example as from the Qur'ân that his Companions derived their beliefs and their rules of conduct; and for later generations, which had not the life of the Prophet before their eyes, the exact knowledge of the Traditions became an even greater necessity. The prodigious memory of the Arabs, so amply borne out by history, was a great advantage for a faithful preservation of Traditions. Besides, even in the lifetime of the Prophet a few Companions (e.g., 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr) used to commit these reports to writing. Increasing distance from the time of Prophet made this practice imperative. Till the second century after the Hijrah, however, there was no system in these collections, and the individual Traditions were hardly even critically sifted. In consequence, much unreliable material got mixed up with the genuine; and as a reaction to this, critical investigation of Traditions was taken up and rapidly developed into a science.

In the case of historical documents relating to a time anterior to their composition the means of verification are (a) the corroboration of historical evidence from independent sources and (b) the investigation of the reliability of the authorities concerned. This principle was applied to the Traditions. Different accounts bearing on the same subject were critically compared, and the line of narrators (which is called "isnâd") was subjected to a very intensive scrutiny. In order that a Tradition be recognised as sound ("ṣaḥîḥ"), all facts about the lives of its narrators, commencing with the Prophet's Companion who first reported it, must be historically established. Every narrator must be known as truthful, pious, just and possessing a faultless memory. If two or more men who otherwise could be regarded as reliable, narrate conflicting Traditions, they automatically lose their claim to reliability.

It is not intended to give here the full methodology of Ḥadîth; this brief account should merely explain one of the reasons for the extraordinary esteem in which the work of Al-Bukhârî is held throughout the World of Islâm. This appreciation is due to the utmost severity and the sense of responsibility with which its author approached the problem of Ḥadîth. His standards of investigation are far more rigorous than those of any other Traditionist before or after him; and it can safely be said that they answer to the most exacting demands of historical criticism. But this is not the only reason of his greatness. Unlike other compilers of Traditions, Al-Bukhârî did not content himself with the work of collecting and carefully sifting, but was intent upon drawing definite conclusions from Traditions—conclusions extending over the whole range of Islâmic conceptions from the fundamental doctrines to the smallest facts of practical life. To that end he divided his work in short sections according to the subject-matter, and added to almost every section explanations ("tarâjim al-abwâb"), which in reality are ingeniously compiled arguments of one great idea that runs like a refrain through the whole work: the idea that Islâm is is not mere belief, but an entity composed of belief and action, and that action is an essential element of the faith. He always supports his own views with verses of the Qur'ân or sayings of the Prophet, or both; and to these he usually adds sayings of Companions and Tâbi'ûn (Successors of Companions). The result of his work is, on the whole, an astonishingly modern refutation of the scholastic theologians who, with their Greek philosophies and their play of words, had over-laid and dulled the lucid image of Islâm.

It is impossible in the limited space of this preface to render full justice to the greatness of Al-Bukhârî's service to the cause of Islâm. The Introduction will show that, but for "Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî," Islâm would to-day be difficult to understand and still more difficult to practice.

* * *

The idea of translating this work occurred to me during my five years' sojourn at Al-Madînah, where I was studying Traditions in the Prophet's Mosque. In that serene atmosphere the necessity of finding once more a direct contact with the spirit of pristine Islâm presented itself to me with overwhelming force. It is not enough, I realised, to know what this or that great man

of the past thought about matters Islâmic; it is not enough to live in the shadow of thoughts that have been, and to discuss the doctrinal differences and hair-splitting dialectics of a period so remote from us that it can hardly have any direct bearing on the exigencies of our present life. We should go back to the original sources of Islâm and, after a terribly long interval, begin to be Muslims again.

The intense pressure of changing conditions of life forces the Muslims to abandon all hesitancy and decide which road of cultural development they will take: towards a realisation of Islâm, or away from it. We can no more overlook the fact that Islâm, which once was an inspiring spiritual force, is now gradually losing its grip on the younger generation educated on Western lines. The causes of this decline or many, and it is not within our scope to investigate them here. We are only concerned with the question: what spiritual forces to-day can be applied to revive the religious conscience of Muslims? The answer is almost commonplace. What we to-day most urgently need is a new understanding and a vivid appreciation of the true teachings of Islâm. But to achieve this we must once again make real the sayings of the Prophet of Islâm—real, as if he were speaking directly to us and for us. We must turn to the voice of the Greatest Man who thirteen hundred years ago roused the heart of a corrupted and darkened world from spiritual death; the mighty call of hope and promise that inspired men to action and self-sacrifice.

It is in the Ḥadîth, the authentic reports of the sayings and doings of the Prophet Muḥammad, that the spirit of Islâm finds its most concrete expression. They show with unmistakable clearness the Last Prophet's attitude towards various aspects of religious and social life, and are thus the only means of avoiding misunderstanding and wilful misrepresentation of the Qur'ânic teachings. There cannot possibly be a more competent arbiter of these teachings than he through whom they have been revealed to humanity. The Sunnah of the Prophet is, in fact, the only key to a full understanding of Islâm; and we know Sunnah only through Ḥadîth.

But are Ḥadîth reliable?—that is, do they represent the genuine accounts of the sayings and doings of the Prophet, or have they been, partly or wholly, invented during a later period?

A definite answer to this question is obviously of the utmost importance to the ideological future of Islâm; but inspite of its importance no serious attempt seems to have been made by Muslims to vindicate the authenticity of Traditions from a modern, scientific point of view. On the other side, this authenticity has been repeatedly challenged in the fairly voluminous European literature on this subject; and it cannot be denied that the writings of European orientalists have to a large extent shaken the belief of educated Muslims in the reliability of Ḥadîth. A close scrutiny of those writings will reveal the fact that the methods of their investigation do not quite correspond to the idea of historical fairness, otherwise so strictly insisted upon. The deep-rooted Western bias against Islâm, born during the Crusades and perpetuated during the subsequent centuries of politico-cultural hostility between the Western and the Muslim Worlds, has found its adequate expression in the orientalist literature of Europe; and this bias is indirectly reflected in the writings of many modern Muslim critics of the Traditions who have, consciously or unconsciously, succumbed to the lure of the Western Civilisation. The analysis of the modern objections against the Traditions is, of course, a far too vast a problem for the limited scope of this preface; and now I can only request the Muslim public to wait for the publication of the Introduction.

One could ask: Assuming that Ḥadîth as such are genuine and reliable, do the present-day conditions of world and society permit the full application of Sunnah to the practical life of Muslims, or would such an application constitute a permanent drawback to the cultural possibilities of the Muslim World?

In answer to this question—which will be discussed in detail in the Introduction—I may mention here the following Qur'ân-verses:

«وما آتاكم الرسول فخذوه، وما نهاكم عنه فانتهوا»

"Whatsoever the Apostle giveth you, take; and whatsoever he forbiddeth you, avoid." (*Sûrah* lix, 7)

«فلاوربك لا يؤمنون حتى يحكموك فيما شجر بينهم، ثم لا يجدوا فى أنفسهم حرجاً مما قضيت ويسلموا تسليماً»

"Nay, by thy Sustainer! they have no faith until they make thee judge of that which is in dispute between them and find in themselves no dislike of that which thou decidest, and submit with [full] submission." (*Sûrah* iv, 65)

«قل: ان كنتم تحبون الله فاتبعونى، يحببكم الله ويغفر لكم ذنوبكم، والله غفور رحيم ✡ قل: اطيعوا الله والرسول: فان تولوا فان الله لا يحب الكافرين»

"Say, [o Muḥammad]: If ye love God, follow me: God will love you and forgive you your sins; and God is Forgiving, a Dispenser of Grace. Say: Obey God and the Apostle. But if they turn away, behold, God loveth not the Unbelievers." (*Sûrah* iii, 31/32)

Thus the necessity, for a Muslim, of following the Sunnah of the Prophet is firmly established in the Qur'ân itself. If this is so, and if, on the other hand, Sunnah were not practicable at this or any other time, the only possible conclusion would be that Qur'ânic injunctions are, in themselves, meaningless and impracticable. For a Muslim who regards the Qur'ân as the Word of God this proposition is clearly impossible. Consequently, if we have reason to believe that the sources from which we draw our knowledge of the Sunnah—that is, the Traditions—are historically reliable, then this Sunnah must be practicable at all times and cannot be a drawback to Muslim life. We must be able to show that Sunnah, rightly understood and practiced in its genuine spirit, will provide every necessary stimulus for the development of Muslim society.

But what does "Sunnah, rightly understood," mean? Has its interpretation been fixed for us, once for ever, at some remote period of the past? This would seem to be the attitude of the majority of Muslims. Since times immemorial they have ceased to think independently on the teachings of Islâm and contented themselves again and again to repeat ideas and conceptions formed not later than in the fourth century after the Hijrah: and this is perhaps one of the main reasons of the cultural decay of the Muslim World. None can say that the works of the early Muslim generations could be dispensed with in our days; but are we to assume that all possibilities of religious knowledge have been exhausted by those early works, and that nothing remains for us but to follow without the right to criticise and interpret?

Obviously, it cannot be so. We have no right to assume that the Holy Qur'ân and the Traditions of our Prophet could ever cease to be accessible to the searching intellect of man. The very greatness of these two primary sources of religious knowledge consists in the fact that, the more our worldly knowledge progresses, the more new and hitherto hidden meanings appear in them. The piety and the religious ardour may be lower in our days than in the early centuries of Islâm; but certainly not our means of understanding. The interpretation given to the teachings of Islâm by Muṣṭafâ and his Companions will for ever remain binding on a Muslim; beyond this, he is free to use his own intellect and his own conscience. This, and nothing else, was the attitude of the great Imâms. They never pretended to be infallible; they were learned men devoted to the search after truth, and they knew that the duty of thinking could never cease to be a duty for man. It was a duty for Ibn Ḥazm as well as for Ibn Rushd; for Al-Ghazâlî as well as for Ar-Râzî; for Ibn Taimîyah as well as for Ibn Khaldûn or Shâh Walî Allâh; and it is a duty for you and for me.

A revival of Islâm is impossible without an intensive inquiry into its original spirit. We must build further and higher on the foundations erected by the past generations. We cannot pretend that the teachings of Islâm could ever be exhausted in all their depth; we are all travellers aiming at new discoveries in the domain of the spirit—discoveries of new meanings, new beauties in the Word of God and the Example of His Prophet, upon whom be blessings and peace.

And in this endeavour of ours we cannot find a better aid than the immortal "Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî."

* * *

While translating this book, I have tried to render its meaning as literally as possible—sometimes, I am afraid, at the expense of the English language. Whatever I had to say myself has been

confined to the explanatory notes; and wherever an addition was unavoidable for the sake of clearness in the text itself, I have used brackets to enclose the additions thus made.

Each Tradition has been divided, by means of different types, into its two parts, the documentary evidence of transmission ("isnâd") and the textual substance ("matn"). Al-Bukhârîs "tarâjim al-abwâb" have been printed in a type smaller than that of the "isnâd." Each chapter ("kitâb") is followed by a synopsis of its subject-matter and a table indicating the different compilations in which the same Traditions have been quoted with or without variations. I have confined myself to the principal works only, namely, the "Ṣiḥâḥ as-sittah," Imâm Mâlik's "Muwaṭṭâ" and the "Musnad" of Imâm Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. "Ṣiḥâḥ as-sittah" and "Muwaṭṭâ" are existing in so many editions that it would be irritating to quote volume and page; but they are so well known that the interested reader will find no difficulty in tracing the Traditions in question. Only in the case of the "Musnad," which is arranged according to the names of the first narrators, volume and page had to be mentioned. The edition used was that printed in Cairo in the year 1313 H.

My translation of "Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî" is based on three of the most accurate of all existing editions: Maṭba'ah al-Amîriyah, Cario, 1313 H. (published by order of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamîd), Dâr aṭ-ṭibâ'ah al-'Âmirah, Cairo, 1315 H., and Maṭba'ah al-Maimanîyah, Cairo, 1323 H.

After the completion of this work an Index will be published in which the reader will find biographies of all persons (including the narrators) mentioned in "Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî," as well as references to all names of places and technical expressions occurring in this work.

I shall not conclude these lines without expressing my thanks to my friend, Maulana 'Aṭâ' ar-Raḥmân Hoshiârpurî ar-Raḥmânî, for his invaluable help in elucidating some of the technical intricacies of this work and his patient advice at a time when the burden of this undertaking almost overwhelmed me.

SRINAGAR, Ramaḍân, 1354 H. (December, 1935).

MUḤAMMAD ASAD.

ABBREVIATIONS:

A .... Az-Zamakhsharî, *Asâs al-balâghah*

AD ... Abû Dâ'ûd, *Sunan*

B.... Ibn Rushd, *Bidâyat al-mujtahid* (Cairo, n d)

FB.... Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalânî, *Fath al-Bârî* (Cairo, 1319 H)

Is.... dto., *Isâbah* (Cairo, 1323 H.)

IH.... Ibn Hishâm, *Sîrat an-Nabî* (Cairo, 1346 H)

IJ .... Ibn Jarîr at-Tabarî, *Tafsîr*

IK.... Ibn Kathîr, *Tafsîr*

IM ... Ibn Mâjah, *Sunan*

IS .... Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqât* (Leyden, 1904 ff)

LA .. *Lisân al-'Arab*

MB ... *Majma' al-biḥâr*

MIH . Imâm Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad* (Cairo, 1313 H)

MM... Imâm Mâlik, *Muwattâ*

N..... An-Nisâ'î, *Sunan*

Nh ... Ibn al-Athîr, *An-nihâyah fî gharîb al-hadîth*

Nw .. An-Nawawî, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥîḥ Muslim*

NA ... Ash-Shawkânî, *Nail al-awṭâr* (Cairo, 1344 H)

Q .... The Holy Qur'ân

Qs .... *Qâmûs*

Rgh ... Ar-Râghib, *Mufradât*

SB ... *Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî*

SM ... *Ṣaḥîḥ Muslim*

ST ... Shâh Walî Allâh, *Sharh tarâjim al-abwâb* (Hyderabad, 1323 H)

T..... At-Tirmadhî, *Jâmi'*

TT ... Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalânî, *Tahdhîb at-tahdhîb* (Hyderabad, 1329 H)

UGh .. Ibn al-Athîr, *Usd al-ghâbah* (Cairo, 1280 H)

'UQ... Al-'Aini, *'Umdat al-Qârî* (Cairo, 1308 H. ff)

* * *

H. — Hijri Era; C. — Christian Era, Tr. — Tradition; I, 12 — Chapter I, Note 12

I

HOW THE REVELATION BEGAN

THUS SAID IMÂM ABÛ 'ABD ALLÂH MUḤAMMAD IBN ISMÂ'ÎL IBN IBRÂHÎM IBN AL-MUGHÎRAH AL-BUKHÂRÎ:[1]

قال الامام أبو عبدالله محمد بن اسمعيل بن ابراهيم ابن المغيرة البخارى [رح]:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE DISPENSER OF GRACE.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

I

HOW THE REVELATION TO THE APOSTLE OF GOD BEGAN[2]

١

كيف كان بدء الوحى الى رسول الله [ص]

And the Word of God—glorified be His name—: "Behold, We revealed unto thee as we revealed unto Noah and the Prophets after him."[3]

و قول الله جل ذكره، «انا اوحينا اليك كما اوحينا الى نوح والنبين من بعده»

(1) Al-Ḥumaidi 'Abd Allâh ibn az-Zubair related to us, saying: Sufyân related to us, saying: Yaḥyâ ibn Sa'îd al-Anṣârî related to us, saying: Muḥammad ibn Ibrâhîm at-Taimî told me that he heard 'Alqamah ibn Waqqâṣ al-Laithî say: I heard 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb say on the pulpit:

(١) حدثنا الحميدى عبدالله بن الزبير قال: حدثنا سفيان قال: حدثنا يحى بن سعيد الأنصارى قال: أخبرنى محمد بن ابراهيم التيمى أنه سمع علقمة بن وقاص الليثى يقول: سمعت عمر بن الخطاب [رض] على المنبر قال:

I HEARD the Apostle of God say: "Behold, the actions are but [judged] according to

سمعت رسول الله [ص] يقول: «انما الأعمال

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1. This introductory remark originates from Abû 'Abd Allâh Muḥammad ibn Maṭar al-Firabrî, the disciple of Al-Bukhârî responsible for the text we are using. He heard the "Ṣaḥîḥ" twice from the lips of Al-Bukhârî: once in his native town Firabr in the year 248 H. and once in Bukhârâ in the year 252 H. (*FB* i, 2).

2. Al-Bukhârî opens his collection of Traditions with this chapter because the belief in the reality of Divine Revelation and, consequently, the Prophethood of Muḥammad is the main pillar of Islâm. Revelation supplies an essential need of mankind. The human understanding is strictly limited in its possibilities: our mind is unable, by virtue of its nature, to understand the *totality* of things; our power of synthesis is restricted to elements provided by our experience. Thus, for example, we can't comprehend infinity or eternity; nay, we don't even know what *life* is. In order to arrange our spiritual and material existence according to standards of perfection we necessarily need the guidance of something more than the normal reasoning qualities and the subjective rationalism inherent in the human being; we need someone who is illuminated by a message coming from the Absolute, in one word, a Prophet. Indirectly, the belief in Prophethood is equivalent to a belief in the existence of a Divine purpose underlying the creation and maintenance of the worlds.—*The opening chapter describes not only the actual beginning of the revelation, but also the* attitude of some of Muḥammad's contemporaries (like Abû Sufyân and Heraclius) towards his prophetic mission.

3. Q. iv, 163.—This is to show that the Revelation granted to Muḥammad was, in its essence and origin, similar to those granted to the former Prophets. The essentials were always the same; the Qur'ân only modified the laws governing man's conduct in individual and social life. But, apart from the fact that the former Revelations have been corrupted and mutilated, they were, from the very outset, purposely either limited in their scope—as for example that of Jesus, which related to certain aspects of spiritual life alone while the bodily life was left in the background—or suited only to a certain time and certain people—as was the case with the Revelation of Moses. In such cases the limitation was prompted by the necessity of gradually preparing a world intellectually and morally not yet fully developed for the coming of a teaching more universal, more exhaustive in its co-ordination of the spiritual and the material elements of the human nature—the teaching of Islâm.

the intentions; and, behold, unto every man is due but what he intended. Thence, whoso migrateth for the sake of this world or to wed a woman,[4] his migration is [accounted] for that unto which he migrated.[5]

بالنيات، وانما لكل امرئ ما نوى. فمن كانت هجرته الى دنيا يصيبها أو الى امرأة ينكحها فهجرته الى ما هاجر اليه.»

(2) 'Abd Allâh ibn Yûsuf related to us, saying: Mâlik told us, on the authority of Hishâm ibn 'Urwah, on the authority of his father,[6] on the authority of 'Â'ishah, Mother of the Faithful[7]:

(٢) حدثنا عبدالله بن يوسف قال: أخبرنا مالك عن هشام بن عروة عن أبيه عن عائشة أم المؤمنين

AL-ḤÂRITH ibn Hishâm asked the Apostle of God and said: "O Apostle of God, how doth the revelation come unto thee?"—And the Apostle of God said: "Sometimes it cometh unto me like the ringing of a bell[8]—

أن الحارث بن هشام سأل رسول الله [ص] فقال: «يارسول الله! كيف يأتيك الوحى؟» —فقال رسول الله [ص]: «أحيانا يأتينى مثل

4. The word *hijrah* (going forth, emigration) has several meanings in the Islâmic *sharî'ah*: one is the emigration of Muslims from a place of danger to a place of security, as in the case of the Companions of the Prophet who, in order to escape the persecutions of the Quraish, emigrated from Mecca to Abyssinia; another is the emigration from a place where unbelief reigns to a place where it is possible to live according to the tenets of Islâm, as in the case of the Companions who emigrated with the Prophet or after him from Mecca to Al-Madînah. As the latter entailed great hardships and the giving up of home and, in many cases, of family bonds for the sake of God and his Prophet, it was regarded as an action of great merit. It happened, however, that even in the lifetime of the Prophet some people emigrated from Mecca to Al-Madînah for the sake of worldly gains only, and particularly for the sake of an easy marriage ('UQ i, 33 f.). The Arabs in pre-Islâmic times used to give their daughters in marriage to those only who could boast of a lineage not less noble than that of the girl. But when Islâm proclaimed the principle of equality of all Muslims, many of the early Believers hastened to offer their daughters in marriage to other Muslims without regard of their descent. Several Meccans of lower classes took advantage of the facilities existing in the Muslim community of Al-Madînah, migrated there and embraced Islâm; and to such ones refers this saying of the Prophet. But as the term *hijrah* often connotes a purely spiritual "emigration" from the domain of evil to that of righteousness (*cf.* Tr. 10), the above saying contains a general ethical principle far beyond the individual case or cases to which it originally referred.

5. It is significant that Al-Bukhârî placed this Tradition at the head of his compilation though it does not bear upon the subject of this chapter, *viz.*, the beginning of revelation. He obviously did it in recognition of the fact that this saying of the Prophet expresses one of the fundamental ethical principles of religion and, moreover, touches a problem which has intrigued the philosophers of all times: the problem of Free Will. The idea of God's omniscience presupposes that of a Divine pre-ordination of all events and, consequently, of human actions. The old question, how man can be held responsible for his actions though they have been pre-ordained by God's Will, *is* answered in the above Tradition. Not his *actions* are decisive for man's spiritual destiny, but his *intentions* (the intentions which immediately precede and accompany the action, and not those which have been abandoned or changed at the moment of action). Man's intentions are an expression of the intricate psychic mechanism which we call soul. And, though frequently influenced by the various functions of the body, this soul *is* an independent, self-contained entity and stands in a direct, if inexplicable, relation to the Divine Will (*amr*, as it is called in the Qur'ân). It is with our souls alone that we can comprehend and feel the existence of God: and we never could comprehend it if His existence were foreign to us in its essential quality. Because of this intimate and exalted relation to God the human soul partakes in the Divine prerogative of freedom which is absent in all material complexes, be they things or events. Thus, if we are unfree in—and, therefore, in a higher sense, not responsible for—our actions owing to their material, *created* character,—we are free in our intentions, because they are of a spiritual, that is, primary or *creative*, quality—and, therefore, responsibility is attached to them.—As to the word "intention" it may here be remarked that both in the Qur'ân and in the Traditions it is never used in the sense of a passing "wish," but in that of a living impulse endowed with the quality of consciousness and directly related to the subsequent event, whatever shape the latter—being pre-ordained, and thus beyond the control of our free will—may ultimately take. This stress upon "intention" is certainly in line with the general trend of the Islâmic teachings directed upon the development of inner wakefulness and consciousness in man.

6. 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair.

7. Title of honour given to the wives of the Prophet in the Qur'ân (xxxiii, 6).

8. The expression "like the ringing of a bell" points to a peculiar disturbance of the Prophet's sense of hearing

and that is most hard on me; then it leaveth me, and indeed I retain in my memory what it said. And sometimes the angel assumeth the likeness of a man for me and speaketh unto me, and I retain in my memory what he saith."

'Â'ishah said:

And, verily, I saw him whilst the revelation descended upon him on a day severe with cold; then it left him—and, behold, his brow was streaming with sweat.

(3) Yaḥyâ ibn Bukair related to us, saying: Al-Laith related to us, on the authority of 'Uqail, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, on the authority of 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair, on the authority of 'Â'ishah, Mother of the Faithful, who said:

THE first [kind] of revelation to which the Apostle of God was initiated was the true dream during sleep[9]; and he never saw a dream but it came like the dawn of the morn.[10] Thereafter the solitude became dear unto him, and he withdrew into seclusion in the cave of Ḥirâ'[11] and there applied himself to ardent devotions[12]

صلصلة الجرس—وهو أشده عليّ—فيفصم عني وقد وعيت عنه ما قال؛ وأحيانًا يتمثل لي الملك رجلاً فيكلمني فأعي ما يقول.»

قالت عائشة [رض]:

ولقد رأيته ينزل عليه الوحي في اليوم الشديد البرد فيفصم عنه—وان جبينه ليتفصد عرقًا.

(٣) حدثنا يحيى بن بكير قال: حدثنا الليث عن عقيل عن ابن شهاب عن عروة بن الزبير عن عائشة أم المؤمنين أنها قالت:

أول ما بدئ به رسول الله [ص] من الوحي الرؤيا الصالحة في النوم، فكان لا يرى رؤيا الا جاءت مثل فلق الصبح. ثم حبب اليه الخلاء، وكان يخلو بغار حراء فيتحنث فيه

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when he was about to receive this kind of revelation. Similar to the chaotic maze of colours which we observe whenever our optical sense is violently disturbed—be it by a physical agency or by an overwhelming emotion—, the Prophet's acoustic sensations were in such a case transformed into a maze of sounds without distinction, resembling the continuous buzzing or ringing of a bell. Shâh Walî Allâh of Delhi was of the opinion (*ST* p. 6 *f.*) that this disturbance of the Prophet's acoustic faculties was a means to isolate him, before the coming of the revelation, from the impressions of the outer world and so to enable him entirely to devote himself to the spiritual voice of the angel. This vehement change from the customary, that is, sensual, orientation to a purely spiritual one was necessarily full of anguish ("and that is most hard on me"). In the other cases, when the angel appeared "in the likeness of a man," the medium of revelation was transferred from a purely spiritual plane to the orbit of human, sensual perceptions; and thus the receiving of the revelation was less excruciating. But, as this also taxed the Prophet's power of concentration to the utmost, it never was quite free of anguish.—'Â'ishah's subsequent description of the Prophet's state during certain revelations obviously refers to the first kind.

9. The first of these prophetic dreams occurred in the month of Rabî' al-awwal in the year 13 B.H. (February, 610 C), when the Prophet had just completed his fortieth year (Al-Baihaqî, *apud FB* i, 21).

10. *i. e.*, with the clearness of light after darkness.

11. A hill about three miles north-east of Mecca, to-day known as *Jabal Nûr* ("Mount of Light"), because there the first verses of the Holy Qur'ân were revealed.

Many conjectures have been made as to length of the Prophet's retirement at Ḥirâ', and whether it took place only once or on several occasions. *IH* (i, 150) states that there were several such times of seclusion, namely, "one month in every year." But this is contradicted by the authentic Tradition (*SM, Kitâb at-tafsîr*) in which the Prophet distinctly declares that he remained one month (in all) at Ḥirâ'. Moreover, it is evident from Tr. 3 of our work that Muḥammad's love of solitude dated from the beginning of the prophetic dreams, the first of which, according to Al-Baihaqî (*cf.* I, 9) took place about 6 months before Gabriel's appearance at Ḥirâ'; so there can have been no question of his withdrawing into solitude "one month in every year." We must, therefore, assume that he withdrew into the cave only once, and spent there about one month; this seclusion was interrupted by his short visits home for the sake of taking provisions.

12. It is somewhat difficult exactly to translate the term *taḥannuth* used in the Arabic text. It is available in two readings, the other being *taḥannuf*. *Taḥannuth* is derived from *ḥanth*, and means "avoidance of sin." But as this does

—that is, worship[13]—

during many nights ere he went home and provided himself with food therefor; then he would return unto Khadîjah and provide himself with food for a similar [number of days]—until the truth[14] came unto him whilst he was in the cave of Ḥirâ': the angel came unto him and said: "Read!"—He said: "I am not of those who read."[15]

He said [in his narrative]: Then he took me and pressed me until all strength went out of me; thereupon he released me and said: "Read!"—I said: "I am not of those who read." Then he took me and pressed me again until all strength went out of me; thereupon he released me and said: "Read!"—And I said: "I am not of those who read." Then he took me and pressed me a third time; thereupon he released me and said: "Read in the name of thy Sustainer Who hath created—created man from a clot!

—وهو التعبد—

الليالي ذوات العدد قبل أن ينزع الى أهله ويتزود لذلك، ثم يرجع الى خديجة فيتزود لمثلها — حتى جاءه الحق وهو في غار حراء، فجاءه الملك فقال: «اقرأ!» — قال: «ما أنا بقارئ.»

قال: فأخذني فغطني حتى بلغ مني الجهد، ثم أرسلني فقال: «اقرأ!» — قلت: «ما أنا بقارئ.» فأخذني فغطني الثانية حتى بلغ مني الجهد، ثم أرسلني فقال: «اقرأ!» — فقلت: «ما أنا بقارئ.» فأخذني فغطني الثالثة، ثم أرسلني فقال: «اقرأ باسم ربك الذي خلق — خلق الانسان

not at all comply with the subsequent remark "that is, worship," we must accept the second reading *taḥannuf* as correct: and it is, in fact, a well-known linguistic peculiarity of the Arabs that in their speech they often transform the consonant *f* into *th*. Now, the word *taḥannuf* is not of Arabic origin, but probably derived from the Canaanite-Aramaic *ḥanpâ* which literally means "one who turns away." In Syriac it was prominently used to describe one who turns away from his religion, a renegade; so the Roman Emperor Julian the Apostate who gave up Christianity and reverted to the old Roman faith is called, in Syrian-Christian manuscripts, *Yulyâna ḥanpâ*; the same term often was applied to the Manichaeans and Sabaeans, presumably owing to the fact that their religions contained Christian elements without fully subscribing to the doctrines of the Christian Church. When the Arabs, in pre-Islâmic times, adapted this word to their language they used it in its original sense of "turning away," namely, from idolatry and, subsequently, from every kind of worldliness. Thence *taḥannuf* came to denote the ardent devotions (mainly consisting of long vigils and prayers) of the unitarian God-seekers who, consequently, were called *ḥunafâ'* (sing., *ḥanîf*)—a designation which was to become familiar to Muslims owing to its association, in the Qur'ân, with the name of Abraham. There it is almost synonymous with "Unitarian."

13. This comment originates from the famous *tâbi'* (*i.e.*, "successor" of the Companions) Ibn Shihâb, one of the narrators of the above Tradition.

14. "Truth" means revelation in wakeful state, as contrasted with that in dream. Some Traditions (*e.g.*, *IH* i, 151) report that the appearance of Gabriel at Ḥirâ' was a dream-experience, like the Prophet's former visions; but Al-Bukhârî's version, which admittedly is more reliable (and, moreover, supported by *SM*, *Kitâb at-tafsîr*), does not allow of such an interpretation.

The appearance of Gabriel at Ḥirâ' and, consequently, the first revelation of the Qur'ân, took place, according to all authorities, during the month of Ramaḍân, 13 B. H. (July or August, 610 C.), but there is no agreement as to the exact date. If, as some commentators assume, the first revelation coincided with the *lailat al-qadr* ("Night of Destiny"), then it would have been one of the last ten nights of Ramaḍân, because the Prophet mentioned in other Traditions these ten nights as those among which the *lailat al-qadr* is to be sought.

15. These words of the Prophet are sometimes translated as "What shall I read." From the linguistical point of view this interpretation is by no means impossible: the particle *mâ* can be used in an interrogative sense ("what?") as well as in a negative ("not"). But almost all philological authorities (with the single exception of Al-Akhfash, *apud* *'UQ* I, 67) are, for grammatical reasons, against this interpretation. The translation "I am not a reader" or "I am not of those who read" appears, therefore, to be the correct one.

Read! And thy Sustainer is the Most Bountiful!"[16]

And thus the Apostle of God returned, his heart trembling, and came unto Khadîjah bint Khuwailid and said: "Wrap me up! Wrap me up!"[17] And they wrapped him up until the awe left him. Then he told Khadîjah what happened and said unto her: "Verily, I fear for myself."[18]—Thereupon Khadîjah said: "Nay, by God! Never will God humiliate thee! Behold, thou fulfillest the duties of kinship, and supportest the weak, and bringest gain to the destitute, and art bounteous toward a guest, and helpest those in genuine distress."

Then Khadîjah went with him unto Waraqah ibn Naufal ibn Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzâ, a son of Khadîjah's uncle. He had embraced

من علق؛ اقرأ؛ وربك الأكرم!»

فرجع بها رسول الله [ص] يرجف فؤاده فدخل على خديجة بنت خويلد فقال: «زملونى! زملونى!» فزملوه حتى ذهب عنه الروع؛ فقال لخديجة وأخبرها الخبر: «لقد خشيت على نفسى.» فقالت خديجة: «كلا والله ما يخزيك الله أبداً! انك لتصل الرحم وتحمل الكل وتكسب المعدوم وتقرى الضيف وتعين على نوائب الحق.»

فانطلقت به خديجة حتى أتت به ورقة بن نوفل ابن أسد بن عبد العزى ابن عم خديجة، وكان

16. Q. xcvi, 1/3.—This beautiful story of the Prophet's first encounter with the Angel of Revelation reminds us, in certain points, of Jacob's wrestling with the angel as described in Genesis, Ch. 32. But whereas Jacob resisted, Muḥammad surrendered himself entirely to the angel's embrace: and here the highest quality of Prophethood is manifested. The perfect Prophet is he who, at the time of revelation, eliminates his own dynamic personality to such a degree that almost nothing remains in him but the faculty of reception. This probably is the most difficult task ever set before man. In the average human being the impetuosity of feelings, desires and nervous sensations overpowers and dims his purely receptive qualities, his ability to listen to the voice within him or from above him. To be a Prophet means no more and no less than to be full and empty at one and the same time: a human being filled with the consciousness of his life and the natural impulses of action and self-assertion—and, at the same time, a passive, purely receptive instrument endowed with nothing but the highest sensitiveness and power of exact registration. The primary duty of a Prophet, in contrast with that of any other spiritual leader, is not to produce images and ideas born in his own mind: it consists only in the *reading* out of the unseen book of Divine Truth and the *reproducing* of its meaning to mankind without additions or subtractions. In the word "Read!" which opened the first revelation to Muḥammad this call to Perfect Prophethood is already fully expressed. The Law of God, the Eternal Truth behind the perceptible things, was laid bare before him, waiting to be understood by him in its innermost meaning. Thus it would be wrong to translate here *iqrâ'* by "recite"—though the Arabic language certainly permits it—because recitation implies the delivery before an audience of something committed to memory—and at the moment of the angel's first appearance there was nothing as yet in the Prophet's memory, and there was no audience. On the other hand, "reading" implies the conscious following and mental assimilation of words or ideas from an outside source: and this, without doubt, was the thing required from the Prophet. At first he was under the illusion of having been ordered to read actual script, and thus, he knew, he could not do because he was illiterate. But when the angel concluded this Revelation, the Prophet understood, in sudden illumination, that he was ordered to receive the spiritual message of the Supreme Being; and the magnitude of this task with all its implications of responsibility and self-sacrifice overwhelmed him and filled him with awe.

17. Because he shivered from the excitement caused by the vision. The calming influence of a cover drawn over the whole body was known to the Arab *kahanah* (sing., *kâhin*), or soothsayers, of pre-Islâmic times, and it is very probable that its use by the Prophet led the heathen Quraish to the erroneous assumption that he belonged to the same class of visionaries.

18. The fear expressed by the Prophet had its origin in the noble humility of his soul: he thought himself unworthy of the exalted position of Prophethood. The explanation given by some of the commentators, that he was afraid of death or of having become insane, is purely hypothetical and, moreover, not corresponding with Khadîjah's answer to the Prophet: "... never will God humiliate thee,"—which means: "... never will God confer a task upon thee which thou art unable to perform." The suggestion of other commentators, that he was afraid of persecution by his countrymen, is entirely without foundation. As is evident from the subsequent talk between the Prophet and Waraqah ibn Naufal, the Prophet had no notion of a danger from that direction until Waraqah told him so.

Christianity in the Time of Ignorance[19] and wrote the Hebrew script, and did write in Hebrew out of the Gospel whatever God willed him to write; and he was an old man and had become blind. And Khadījah said unto him: "O uncle's son, hearken unto thy brother's son.[20]"—And Waraqah said unto him: "O my brother's son, what dost thou see?" Thereupon the Apostle of God told him what he had seen. And Waraqah said unto him: "That [was] the Angel of Revelation whom God sent down upon Moses. O, would that I were a youth! Would I were alive when thy people drive thee away!"—Then the Apostle of God said: "Why! Are they to drive me away?"—He said: "Yea. Never came a man with the like thou hast come with but was persecuted. And if thy day [of need] witnesseth me [alive], I shall help thee with a powerful help."—Thereafter Waraqah took no part [in these matters] until he died.[21] And the revelation broke off.[22]

امرأً قد تنصر فى الجاهلية وكان يكتب الكتاب العبرانى فيكتب من الانجيل بالعبرانية ماشاء الله أن يكتب، وكان شيخاً كبيراً قد عمى. فقالت له خديجة: «يا ابن عم اسمع من ابن أخيك.» — فقال له ورقة: «يا ابن أخي ما ذا ترى؟» فأخبره رسول الله [ص] خبر ما رأى، فقال له ورقة: «هذا الناموس الذى نزل الله على موسى؛ يا ليتنى فيها جذعاً، ليتنى أكون حياً اذ يخرجك قومك!» — فقال رسول الله [ص]: «أو مخرجىّ هم؟» — قال: «نعم، لم يأت رجل قط بمثل ما جئت به الا عودى؛ وان يدركنى يومك أنصرك نصراً مؤزراً.» ثم لم ينشب ورقة أن توفى؛ وفتر الوحى.

(4) Ibn Shihāb[23] said: And Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān told me that Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī said:

(٤) قال ابن شهاب: وأخبرنى أبو سلمة بن عبد الرحمن أن جابر بن عبدالله الأنصارى قال:

19. "Time of Ignorance" (*jāhilīyah*) is the period before the announcement of Muḥammad's prophetic mission.

20. Waraqah was not in reality an uncle of the Prophet, though they belonged to the same branch of Quraish; but it is an Arab custom, prevalent even in these days, to address an old and respected man as "uncle"; hence Khadījah's expression "thy brother's son."

21. Most commentators agree that Waraqah died *before* the Prophet began preaching Islām in public, *i.e.*, before the persecution by the Quraish started. Only Ibn Isḥāq (*apud FB* i, 21) mentions that Waraqah was present when Bilāl was maltreated on account of his adherence to the Prophet; but as this account is contradicted by the evidence of Traditions in the compilations of both Al-Bukhārī and Muslim, it must be regarded as a historical mistake.

22. Between the first revelation mentioned in the above Tradition and the next one mentioned in the following account of Jābir ibn 'Abd Allāh a period of about three years elapsed during which the Prophet received no revelation. This period is called "the break in the revelation" (*fatrat al-waḥī*). It was a time of deepest distress for the Prophet. The absence of revelation almost led him to believe that his first experience at Ḥirā' was an illusion; and it was only due to Khadījah's undaunted faith in his prophetic mission that he did not entirely lose his courage.

23. Al-Bukhārī opens the *isnād* of this Tradition with the name of Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhrī (who was not his contemporary) not because the links between him and the latter are missing, but because the line of narrators between Ibn Shihāb and the author is here the same as in Tr. 3. The particle "and" before Abū Salamah denotes that Ibn Shihāb az-Zuhrī related this Tradition in conjunction with the foregoing one, as if he had said: "'Urwah ibn az-Zubair (*cf. isnād* of Tr. 3) told me this and this, *and* Abū Salamah told me, in addition to this, the following." Therefore the author places the "corroboration" (*mutāba'ah*) of both Traditions after Tr. 4 (see I, 25/26). It obviously was this peculiarity of the *isnād* which led some historians who were not Traditionists to the mistaken notion that the event related in Tr. 4 took place immediately after that related in Tr. 3, or even that both Traditions refer to one and the same event differently narrated. The wording of Tr. 4 ("whilst speaking of the break in the revelation") makes it clear beyond any possibility of doubt that the Prophet's second encounter with the angel Gabriel occurred at a much later time, namely, after the "break in the revelation" (*cf.* I, 22).

AND—whilst speaking of the break in the revelation—[the Prophet] said in his narrative: [Once,] whilst I walked, I heard a voice from heaven and I lifted my eyes—and there was the angel who had come unto me at Ḥirâ', sitting on a throne between heaven and earth. And he inspired me with awe, and I returned home and said: "Wrap me up! Wrap me up!" Then God, the Most High, sent down [the Revelation]: "O thou wrapped in a cloak! Arise and warn!"—to His Words: "... and pollution shun!"[24]—Thereupon the revelation became intensive and continuous.

وهو يحدث عن فترة الوحى فقال فى حديثه: بينا أنا أمشى اذ سمعت صوتا من السماء فرفعت بصرى — فاذا الملك الذى جاءنى بحراء جالس على كرسى بين السماء والأرض؛ فرعبت منه فرجعت فقلت: «زملونى! زملونى!» فأنزل الله تعالى: «يا أيها المدثر! قم فأنذر!» — الى قوله: «والرجز فاهجر!» فحمى الوحى وتتابع.

'Abd Allâh ibn Yûsuf and Abû Ṣâliḥ concurred with him[25]; and Hilâl ibn Raddâd concurred with him,[26] [likewise] on the authority of Az-Zuhrî. And Yûnus and Ma'mar said "his shoulders."[27]

تابعه عبد الله بن يوسف و أبو صالح؛ وتابعه هلال بن رداد عن الزهرى؛ وقال يونس ومعمر «بوادره».

(5) Mûsâ ibn Ismâ'îl related to us, saying: Abû 'Awânah related to us, saying: Mûsâ ibn Abî 'Â'ishah related to us, saying: Sa'îd ibn Jubair related to us, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs, concerning the Word of the Most High: "Move not thy tongue with this to make haste with it." [Ibn 'Abbâs] said:

(٥) حدثنا موسى بن اسمعيل قال: حدثنا أبو عوانة قال: حدثنا موسى بن أبى عائشة قال: حدثنا سعيد بن جبير عن ابن عباس فى قوله تعالى: «لا تحرك به لسانك لتعجل به» قال:

THE Apostle of God was severely affected by the revelation, and would move his lips.[28]

كان رسول الله [ص] يعالج من التنزيل شدة وكان مما يحرك شفتيه.

And Ibn 'Abbâs said: "I shall move them for thee in the same way as the Apostle of God would move them." And Sa'îd said: "I shall move them in the same way as I saw Ibn 'Abbâs move them"—and he moved his lips.

فقال ابن عباس: «فأنا أحركهما لك كما كان رسول الله [ص] يحركهما» — وقال سعيد: «أنا أحركهما كما رأيت ابن عباس يحركهما» — فحرك شفتيه.

Thereupon God, the Most High, sent down [the Revelation]: "Move not thy tongue

فأنزل الله تعالى: «لا تحرك به لسانك لتعجل

24. Q. lxxiv, 1/5. Thus for the first time the Prophet was ordered to preach Islâm in public.

25. *i.e.*, with Yaḥyâ ibn Bukair (*cf. isnâd* of Tr. 3). This is a typical form of corroboration adopted by Al-Bukhârî. He thus intimates that he received the same Tradition independently from three different narrators, *viz.*, Yaḥyâ ibn Bukair, 'Abd Allâh ibn Yûsuf and Abû Ṣâliḥ; all of them heard it from Al-Laith (*FB* i, 22).

26. Here the reference is to 'Uqail (*cf. isnâd* of Tr. 3); he and Hilâl ibn Raddâd were disciples of Az-Zuhrî, as also were Yûnus and Ma'mar mentioned in the next sentence. This shows that Al-Laith heard this Tradition from four authorities.

27. —instead of the words "his heart" used by 'Uqail (*cf.* p. 19). Thus the difference between the narratives of Yûnus and Ma'mar and those of 'Uqail and Hilâl ibn Raddâd consisted in one single word.

28. Regarding the causes of the Prophet's suffering during revelations, see I, 8. Faced as he was with the tremendous responsibility of exactly reproducing the Word of God, the Prophet was afraid lest he should forget the words of the Revelation; he, therefore, used to repeat them rapidly while Gabriel was speaking.

with this to make haste with it. Behold, upon Us resteth the putting together thereof and the reciting thereof."[29]

[Explaining, Ibn 'Abbâs] said: "It is for Him to put it together in thy heart and [then] thou shalt recite it."

"And when We recite it thou [but] follow its recitation."[30]

[Ibn 'Abbâs] said: "—and listen unto it and remain silent."

"Thereafter, behold, its manifestation resteth upon Us."[31]

[Ibn 'Abbâs said:] "—thereafter, behold, it resteth upon Us to make thee recite it."

And after that, when Gabriel came unto him, the Apostle of God would listen, and when Gabriel departed the Prophet would recite it in the way [Gabriel] had recited it.

به؛ ان علينا جمعه و قرآنه.»

قال: «جمعه له فى صدرك و تقرأه.»

«فاذا قرأناه فاتبع قرآنه؛»

قال: «—فاستمع له و أنصت.»

«ثم ان علينا بيانه.»

«ثم ان علينا أن تقرأه.»

فكان رسول الله [ص] بعد ذلك اذا أتاه جبريل استمع، فاذا انطلق جبريل قرأه النبي [ص] كما قرأه.

(6) 'Abdân related to us, saying: 'Abd Allâh told us, saying: Yûnus told us, on the authority of Az-Zuhrî;—[Al-Bukhârî] said: And Bishr ibn Muḥammad related to us the same,[32] saying: 'Abd Allâh told us, saying: Yûnus and Ma'mar told us, on the authority of Az-Zuhrî, who said: 'Ubaid Allâh ibn 'Abd Allâh told me, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs, who said:

THE Apostle of God was the most generous of men; and he was more generous than ever during Ramaḍân, when Gabriel came unto him—and he would come unto him every night during Ramaḍân and impart the knowledge of the Qur'ân unto him;—then, indeed, the Apostle of God was more generous in [doing] good than the speeding wind.[33]

(٦) حدثنا عبدان قال: أخبرنا عبدالله قال: أخبرنا يونس عن الزهرى؛—قال: وحدثنا بشر بن محمد قال: أخبرنا عبد الله قال: أخبرنا يونس و معمر عن الزهرى نحوه، قال: أخبرنى عبيدالله بن عبدالله عن ابن عباس قال:

كان رسول الله [ص] أجود الناس، وكان أجود ما يكون فى رمضان حين يلقاه جبريل —وكان يلقاه فى كل ليلة من رمضان فيدارسه القرآن—فلرسول الله [ص] أجود بالخير من الريح المرسلة.

(7) Abû 'l-Yamân al-Ḥakam ibn Nâfi' related to us, saying: Shu'aib told us, on the authority of Az-Zuhrî, who said: 'Ubaid Allâh ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Utbah ibn Mas'ûd told me that 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abbâs informed him that

(٧) حدثنا أبو اليمان الحكم بن نافع قال: أخبرنا شعيب عن الزهرى قال: أخبرنى عبيد الله ابن عبد الله بن عتبة بن مسعود أن عبدالله ابن عباس أخبره

29. Q. lxxv, 16/17.
30. Q. lxxv, 18.
31. Q. lxxv, 19.
32. This term indicates that the version of Bishr ibn Muḥammad was in every respect identical with that of 'Abdân.
33. This can mean two things: he was more generous than the stormwind which brings rain-loaded clouds and, thus, life to the earth; or that he used to help others quickly, without the least delay.

ABÛ SUFYÂN ibn Ḥarb[34] told him that Heraclius[35] sent for him whilst he was in a small caravan of Quraish; they were trading in Syria during the truce[36] which the Apostle of God had granted to Abû Sufyân and the heathen Quraish.[37] Then they came unto him; and they were in Jerusalem[38] [at that time]. Thereupon he called

أن أباسفيان بن حرب أخبره أن هرقل أرسل اليه فى ركب من قريش، وكانوا تجاراً بالشام فى المدة التى كان رسول الله [ص] ماد فيها أبا سفيان وكفار قريش؛ فأتوه وهم بإيلياء. فدعا هم فى مجلسه وحوله عظماء

34. Abû Sufyân Ṣakhr ibn Ḥarb ibn Umayyah, father of Mu'âwiyah, the first Caliph of the dynasty of Banû Umayyah. Up to the conquest of Mecca by the Muslims, Abû Sufyân was one of the leaders of the heathen Quraish and bitterly opposed to the Prophet Muḥammad. He, however, embraced Islâm on the eve of the conquest of Mecca and was, from that time onward, a staunch supporter of the Muslim cause. He died at the age of 88 in Al-Madînah during the reign of the Caliph 'Uthmân (*IS* viii, 70). At the time of the incident described in the above Tradition, Abû Sufyân was still an opponent of the Prophet.

35. Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium (610-641 C.), was one of the most remarkable rulers of his period. Originally a general of the Byzantine armies, he usurped the throne by a *coup d'état* at a time when the Empire was near to destruction owing to defeats suffered at the hands of their hereditary foes, the Persians. During the years that followed the Persians conquered Anatolia, Syria and Egypt, and threatened Constantinople itself. It was with the utmost exertion that Heraclius ultimately succeeded in stemming the tide and turning the balance of war in his favour. In 622 C. he defeated the Persians and drove them out of Asia Minor; and during the following years the Byzantines invaded Persian territories and put the enemy entirely on the defensive. In the beginning of December, 626, the Persian armies were completely routed and some weeks later their king Khusrû Parviz fled to his capital, to be murdered there by his own son in February, 628. Immediately afterwards a treaty of peace was concluded between Persia and Byzantium which restored the frontiers according to the *status quo*.

During the severe fight which shook both Empires to their foundations, the Emperor Heraclius made a vow that, if God would grant him a victory over the Persians, he would perform a pilgrimage on foot to Jerusalem. In fulfillment of this vow he set out from Ḥimṣ, in Syria, in autumn, 628. On his reaching Jerusalem he received from his vassal, the Christian-Arab Prince of Ghassân, the first news of the appearance of the Prophet Muḥammad in far-off Arabia.

The story of this message and Heraclius' premonitions which preceded it are described in the first half of Ibn an-Nâṭûr's account, which the narrator Az-Zuhrî (*cf. isnâd*), in disregard of the chronological order, places after the story of Abû Sufyân. In reality, the events described in the first part of Ibn an-Nâṭûr's story (that is, up to Heraclius' words: "it is this people's king that hath now appeared") provided the first reason for the Emperor's calling for Abû Sufyân and his questioning him about the new Prophet. The second part of Ibn an-Nâṭûr's story (Heraclius' letter to his friend in Constantinople, the latter's answer, and the subsequent discussion at Ḥimṣ with the Byzantine chiefs) stands, in its chronological order, *after* Abû Sufyân's story. In Ṭabarî's *Târîkh al-kabîr* (in which, however, the last part of the story, as given by Ibn an-Nâṭûr, is omitted) the chronological order is exactly preserved, and there we find the account how Heraclius, made nervous by the result of his astrological observations and the meeting with the Prophet's messenger Diḥyah, sent his officers to ransack Jerusalem for people from the Arab Peninsula, so that he might personally inquire from them about the truth of the Prophet's appearance. As a result of this search Abû Sufyân was found and brought to the Emperor (Ṭabarî, *apud* Muḥammad Riḍâ, *Muḥammad*, p. 330).

This somewhat abstruse arrangement of the story has caused several historians to believe that it refers, from beginning to end, to one consequence of events. So *e.g.*, Shiblî Nu'mânî commits in his valuable *Sîrat an-nabî* (i, 342) the awkward mistake to denounce as not authentic a Tradition quoted by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (*MIH* iv, 74) because it is mentioned there that Heraclius' answer to the Prophet was read to him by Mu'âwiyah—and at the time of Abû Sufyân's meeting the Emperor Heraclius (in the year 7 H.) Mu'âwiyah had not yet accepted Islâm! Shiblî's objection is not valid because the said Tradition very distinctly refers to the Prophet's *second* message which was dispatched through Diḥyah from Tabûk in the year 9 H. (*cf.* I, 59), while Mu'âwiyah accepted Islâm at the time of the conquest of Mecca, *i.e.*, in the year 8 H.

36. This refers to the Truce of Ḥudaibiyah, concluded in the month of Dhû 'l-Qa'dah, 6 H. (February, 628 C.) between the Prophet and the Quraish of Mecca.

37. Ibn 'Abbâs mentions here the name of Abû Sufyân not only because of his important role in the following story, but also because he was the most prominent leader of the Meccan Quraish before their acceptance of Islâm.

38. Îliyâ'—the name used in the Arabic text—is an abbreviation of Aelia Capitolina, the official designation of Jerusalem at that period.

them to his council chamber; and around him were the great ones of Byzantium. Thereafter he called them and called his interpreter and said: "Which of you is by birth the nearest unto that man who claimeth to be a prophet?" And Abû Sufyân said [in his narrative to Ibn 'Abbâs]: I said: "I am the nearest of them by birth."—Then [Heraclius] said: "Draw him nearer unto me and bring his companions nearer and let them stand behind him." Thereafter he said to his interpreter: "Tell them: Behold, I am going to ask this one about that man; and if he lieth unto me, ye belie him." [Abû Sufyân] said: And, by God, had it not been for shame that they would disclose my lie, indeed I would have lied about him.

Thereafter, the first he asked me was: "How is his descent amongst you?"—I said: "He is a man of birth amongst us."—He said: "And did any of you ever say this saying[39] before him?"—I said: "No."—He said: "And was there a king amongst his forefathers?"—I said: "No."—He said: "And do the noble ones of the people follow him or the poor amongst them?"—I said: "Rather the poor amongst them."—He said: "Do they increase or decrease [in numbers]?"—I said: "Rather they increase."—He said: "And doth any of them turn apostate out of disgust with his religion, after having embraced it?"—I said: "No."—He said: "And did ye suspect him of lying before he said what he said?"—I said: "No."[40]—He said: "And doth he break his pledges?"—I said: "No. But we are at truce with him, and we do not know what he will do with it.[41]"

الروم. ثم دعاهم ودعا ترجمانه فقال: «أيكم أقرب نسباً بهذا الرجل الذى يزعم أنه نبي؟» فقال أبو سفيان: قلت: «أنا أقربهم نسباً.» — فقال: «أدنوه منى وقربوا أصحابه فاجعلوهم عند ظهره.» ثم قال لترجمانه: «قل لهم: انى سائل هذا عن هذا الرجل، فان كذبنى فكذبوه.» قال: فوالله لولا الحياء من أن يأثروا على كذباً لكذبت عنه.

ثم كان أول ما سألنى عنه أن قال: «كيف نسبه فيكم؟» — قلت: «هو فينا ذو نسب.» — قال: «فهل قال هذا القول منكم أحد قط قبله؟» — قلت: «لا.» — قال: «فهل كان من آبائه من ملك؟» — قلت: «لا.» — قال: «فأشراف الناس يتبعونه أم ضعفاؤهم؟» — قلت «بل ضعفاؤهم.» — قال: «أيزيدون أم ينقصون؟» — قلت: «بل يزيدون.» — قال: «فهل يرتد أحد منهم سخطةً لدينه بعد أن يدخل فيه؟» — قلت: «لا.» — قال: «فهل كنتم تتهمونه بالكذب قبل أن يقول ما قال؟» — قلت: «لا.» — قال: «فهل يغدر؟» — قلت: «لا؛ ونحن منه فى مدة، لا ندرى ماهو فاعل

39. *viz.*, to abandon idolatry and to worship the One God.

40. Before his claim to Prophethood, Muhammad was renowned in Mecca for his truthfulness, and was called *al-amin* ("the trustworthy"). Nobody of the Quraish doubted his veracity until he began propounding his doctrine of the Oneness of God which was opposed to the religious practices of the heathen Quraish; but as soon as he did it the latter began to call him a liar.

41. Thus insinuating the possibility of treachery on the part of the Prophet.

[Abû Sufyân] said: And I could not say a word with something [of a slight] in it save this one word.[42]

He said: "Did ye fight him?"—I said: "Yea." —He said: "How, then, was your fight with him?"—I said: "The war between us and him is [up and down like] well-buckets: he wins from us and we win from him."—He said: "What is it that he enjoineth upon you?" —I said: "He saith: Worship God alone and associate naught with Him; and give up the sayings of your forefathers. And he enjoineth upon us prayer and truthfulness and purity and the duties of kinship."

Thereupon he said to the interpreter: "Tell him: I asked thee about his descent—and thou saidst he is a man of birth amongst you; and so are the Apostles: they are sent from amongst the nobility of their people. And I asked thee whether any of you had said that saying [before]—and thou saidst, no; and I said [unto myself]: 'If anyone had said that saying before him, indeed I would say, the man followeth a saying that hath been said before him.' And I asked thee whether there was a king amongst his forefathers—and thou saidst, no; and I said [unto myself]: 'Had there been a king amongst his forefathers, I would say, he claimeth the kingdom of his forefather. And I asked thee whether ye suspected him of lying before he said what he said—and thou saidst, no; and indeed I know that he would not have witheld from lying unto men if he had lied unto God. And I asked thee whether the noble ones of the people followed him or the poor amongst them—and thou

فيها.» قال: ولم تمكنى كلة أدخل فيها شيأً غير هذه الكلمة.

قال: «فهل قاتلتموه؟» — قلت: «نعم.» — قال: «فكيف كان قتالكم اياه؟» — قلت: «الحرب بيننا وبينه سجال: ينال منا وننال منه.» — قال: «ماذا يأمركم؟» — قلت: «يقول: اعبدوا الله وحده ولا تشركوا به شيأً واتركوا ما يقول آباؤكم؛ ويأمرنا بالصلاة والصدق والعفاف والصلة.»

فقال للترجمان: «قل له: سألتك عن نسبه — فذكرت أنه فيكم ذو نسب؛ فكذلك الرسل تبعث فى نسب قومها. وسألتك هل قال أحد منكم هذا القول — فذكرت أن لا؛ فقلت: لو كان أحد قال هذا القول قبله لقلت رجل يتأسى بقول قيل قبله. وسألتك هل كان من آبائه من ملك — فذكرت أن لا؛ قلت: فلو كان من آبائه من ملك قلت رجل يطلب ملك أبيه. وسألتك هل كنتم تتهمونه بالكذب قبل أن يقول ما قال — فذكرت أن لا؛ فقد أعرف أنه لم يكن ليذر الكذب على الناس ويكذب على الله. وسألتك:

42 In Tabari's *Târîkh al-kabîr* (*apud* Muhammad Ridâ, *Muhammad*, p 331 *f*) we find an analogous Tradition, in which Abû Sufyân describes his futile efforts to influence the Emperor against the new Prophet. He particularly wished to minimise the personality of Muhammad and the effect of his teachings on his countrymen. But the astute Emperor prevented him from displaying his own opinions and ordered him merely to answer the questions which were put to him. Thus, as is shown later on in this Tradition, Heraclius was able to form an independent opinion with regard to the Prophethood of Muhammad. His eventual rejection of Islâm was, as will be seen, due not to a doubt whether Muhammad was a Prophet, but to worldly apprehensions.

saidst that the poor amongst them followed him; and these are the followers of the Apostles. And I asked thee whether they increase or decrease [in numbers]—and thou saidst that they increase; and such is the case with faith to the very end.[43] And I asked thee whether any [of them] had turned apostate out of disgust with his religion, after having embraced it—and thou saidst, no; and such is the [case with] faith whenever its joy mergeth into the hearts. And I asked thee whether he breaketh his pledges—and thou saidst, no; and such [is the case with] the Apostles: they do not break their pledges. And I asked thee about the things he enjoineth upon you—and thou saidst that he enjoineth upon you to worship God and to associate naught with Him, and that he forbiddeth you the worship of idols and enjoineth upon you prayer and truthfulness and purity.

"Thence, if what thou sayest is true, he will take possession of the place where these two feet of mine stand![44] And, indeed, I knew he was to appear,[45] [though] I did not think he would be from amongst you. And if I but knew that I could be loyal unto him, indeed I would endeavour to meet him; and if I were with him, indeed I would wash his feet."[46]

أشراف الناس اتبعوه أم ضعفاؤهم — فذكرت أن ضعفاءهم اتبعوه؛ وهم أتباع الرسل. وسألتك أيزيدون أم ينقصون — فذكرت أنهم يزيدون؛ وكذلك أمر الايمان حتى يتم. وسألتك أيرتد أحد سخطةً لدينه بعد أن يدخل فيه — فذكرت أن لا؛ وكذلك الايمان حين تخالط بشاشته القلوب. وسألتك هل يغدر — فذكرت أن لا؛ وكذلك الرسل لا تغدر. وسألتك بما يأمركم — فذكرت أنه يأمركم أن تعبدوا الله ولا تشركوا به شيأً وينهاكم عن عبادة الأوثان ويأمركم بالصلاة والصدق والعفاف.

«فان كان ما تقول حقاً فسيملك موضع قدميّ هاتين. وقد كنت أعلم أنه خارج، لم أكن أظن أنه منكم؛ فلو أني أعلم أني أخلص اليه لتجشمت لقاءه، ولو كنت عنده لغسلت عن قدميه.»

43. So long as the followers of a Prophet persist in their faith they are bound to attract others by virtue of the spiritual force in them. The continuous increase in the number of Muslims, from the time of the Prophet to these days, is an ample vindication of Heraclius' words.

44. Heraclius realised that with a doctrine such as the Prophet Muḥammad was preaching success was inevitable, and that it was bound, sooner or later, to enrapture the people of the countries bordering on Arabia and to draw them into the fold of Islâm; and as Islâm brought with it not only a spiritual teaching but also a new social and political organisation, the only logical consequence of its success would be the disruption of other polities based on different religious and social conceptions.

45. He knew from prophecies contained in the Bible that a Prophet of such a description was due to appear.

46. It is very interesting to note that Heraclius in his innermost heart believed in the Prophethood of Muḥammad. During that period Christendom was disrupted by very far-reaching dogmatic differences regarding the status of Jesus Christ—whether he was human or divine or a combination of both qualities—, and there were not a few Christian thinkers, particularly among the Monophysite Nestorians, who advocated the principle of Christ's humanity and were opposed to the dogma of Trinity. According to the evidence of contemporary Byzantine historians, Emperor Heraclius personally inclined towards the teachings of the more moderate among the Monophysites and tried to bring about some sort of compromise between their school of thought and that of the orthodox Church—an endeavour in which he failed. From the teachings of the Monophysites there was only a step to the Islâmic conceptions of God's Oneness and the status of Prophethood. But however sympathetically Heraclius might have looked upon the teachings of Islâm, he

Thereafter he called for the letter which the Apostle of God had sent with Diḥyah[47] unto the Chief of Buṣrâ,[48] who had transmitted it to Heraclius. Then he read it, and, behold, this was in it: "In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Dispenser of Grace. From Muḥammad, God's slave and Apostle, unto Heraclius, the Chief of Byzantium. Peace be upon whoso followeth the right guidance. And thereupon: Behold, I call upon thee with the call of Islâm. Accept Islâm, and thou shalt be saved; God will give thee thy reward twofold.[49] And if thou wilt turn away, then, indeed, upon thee be the disgrace of the humble folk.[50] 'O People of the Scripture[51]! Come unto the word that we and ye have in common: that we shall worship none but God and associate naught with Him; and that we shall not take one another for lords instead of God. And if they turn away, then say: Bear witness that we [are they who] submit [unto God].'"[52]

ثم دعا بكتاب رسول الله [ص] الذى بعث
به دحية الى عظيم بصرى فدفعه الى هرقل؛
فقرأه فاذا فيه: «بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، من
محمد عبد الله ورسوله الى هرقل عظيم الروم.
سلام على من اتبع الهدى. أما بعد: فانى
أدعوك بدعاية الاسلام؛ أسلم تسلم، يؤتك الله
أجرك مرتين؛ فان توليت فان عليك اثم
اليريسين. ويا أهل الكتاب تعالوا الى كلمة
سواء بيننا وبينكم: أن لا نعبد الا الله ولا نشرك
به شيأ ولا يتخذ بعضنا بعضاً أرباباً من
دون الله؛ فان تولوا فقولوا: اشهدوا بأنا
مسلمون.»

anticipated—and the events related at the end of Ibn an-Nâṭûr's story confirm his anticipation—that, as the public opinion in the Byzantine Empire was fanatically opposed to everything which was not professedly Christian, it would be impossible for him to change his religion and to follow Muḥammad without losing his throne. Ultimately, as will be seen, this consideration prevailed upon his better intentions.

47. Diḥyah ibn Khalîfah al-Kalbî, a Companion of the Prophet who often acted for the latter as a confidential messenger. The letter of which he was the bearer was dispatched by the Prophet in the last month of the year 6 H., immediately after his return from Ḥudaibiyah. Diḥyah was ordered first to proceed to Al-Ḥârith ibn abî Shamr, the Christian-Arab king of Ghassân (see following Note), and then to Heraclius. He did so, and on his arrival at Buṣrâ, where the King of Ghassân had his residence, the latter deputed 'Adî ibn Ḥâtim, a Christian Arab, to accompany him on his further journey. The two reached Jerusalem in the month of Muḥarram, 7 H. (628 C.), and were immediately introduced to the Emperor (Muḥammad Riḍâ, *Muḥammad*, p. 330).

48. A town in the district of Ḥawrân in southern Syria, to-day known as Bostra. It was the northernmost point which the Prophet, as a boy, reached during his Syrian journey in the company of his uncle Abû Ṭâlib; and it was the first town in Syria conquered by the Muslims under Khâlid ibn al-Walîd in the year 13 H. (634 C.). Its rulers were the Banû Ghassân, an Arab dynasty professing Christianity and famous for their patronage of Arab poetry. They were under the suzerainty of the Byzantine Emperors and were pledged to defend the frontiers of the Empire against the Persians and their vassals, the Arab rulers of Al-Ḥîrah in the 'Irâq. When the Persians under Khusrû Parvîz conquered Syria (613-614), the Banû Ghassân were driven out of their country, but were restored to power in 628, after Heraclius' decisive victory over the Persians (*cf.* I, 35).

49. *i.e.*, "on account of thyself as also of thy followers whom thy example will induce to embrace Islâm."

50. *Al-yarîsîn*, the word used in the text, is not Arabic but probably of Greek origin; at that time it was already incorporated into the Syrian-Arab border language. It literally means "peasants" (*'UQ* i, 100 *f.*). The humble folk, as a rule, blindly follow their leaders; the Prophet intended to say that, if Heraclius were to reject the True Religion, his followers would do the same and, in consequence, be disgraced before God. Thus Heraclius' guilt would be twofold.

51. "People of the Scripture" are those who recognise Revealed Books; in the usage of the Qur'ân it always refers to Jews and Christians.

52. The second part of the letter is a quotation from the Qur'ân (iii, 64). *FB* (i, 34) mentions some not very reliable accounts, according to which Heraclius placed the Prophet's letter in a golden casket and treated it ever afterwards

Abû Sufyân [further] said: Thereupon, when [Heraclius] said what he said and finished the reading of the letter, the uproar became great in his presence and the voices grew loud, and we left. And when we left, I said unto my friends: "Verily, the cause of Abû Kabshah's son[53] hath prevailed; behold, the king of Banû 'l-Aṣfar[54] is afraid of him." And I remained convinced that he would emerge victorious, till [at the end] God infused Islâm into me.

قال أبو سفيان: فلما قال ما قال و فرغ من قراءة الكتاب كثر عنده الصخب وارتفعت الأصوات وأخرجنا؛ فقلت لأصحابي حين أخرجنا: «لقد أَمِرَ أمر ابن أبي كبشة، انه يخافه ملك بني الأصفر.» فمازلت موقنًا أنه سيظهر حتى أدخل الله عليّ الاسلام.

And[55] Ibn an-Nâṭûr, the governor of Jerusalem and friend[56] of Heraclius, was a bishop of the Christians of Syria. He relateth:

وكان ابن الناطور صاحب ايلياء وهرقل أسقف على نصارى الشام يحدث

WHEN Heraclius came to Jerusalem, one morning he rose worried in his soul; then some of his priests said unto him: "Indeed, we are astonished at thy countenance."

أن هرقل حين قدم ايلياء أصبح خبيث النفس؛ فقال بعض بطارقته: «قد استنكرنا هيئتك!»

Ibn an-Nâṭûr [further] said

قال ابن الناطور:

And Heraclius was a seer who observed the stars. And when they asked him, he said unto them: "Behold, last night, when I observed the stars, I saw that the King of

وكان هرقل حزاء ينظر في النجوم، فقال لهم حين سألوه: «اني رأيت الليلة حين نظرت

with the greatest respect. The same sources affirm that the casket and its contents were handed down from every Byzantine Emperor to his successor until they came (it is not said how) into the possession of the Christian kings of Spain. After that every trace of the letter is lost.

53 Some commentators think that Abû Kabshah was the name of one of the Prophet's ancestors, and that Abû Sufyân, by calling him "Abû Kabshah's son," was merely following the old Arab custom of using the name of a remote ancestor as a patronymic. But this seems to be a mere conjecture, as there is no conclusive historical evidence of any person of that name among the Prophet's ancestors, either on the paternal or on the maternal side Moreover, it is quite apparent that Abû Sufyân, who at that time was most bitterly opposed to the Prophet, used this name in a derisive sense This induced other commentators to believe that Abû Kabshah was a nickname of Al-Ḥârith ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzâ, the husband of Ḥalîmah the Prophet's nurse, and that it was used by the heathen Quraish in order to throw a slight upon the Prophet, as his father 'Abd Allâh belonged to the aristocracy of Quraish, while Al-Ḥârith was a simple Bedouin of the Banû Sa'd tribe. But a far more convincing explanation is furnished by Ibn Qutaibah, Al-Khaṭṭâbî and Ad-Dâraquṭnî (*apud FB* i, 30) They mention a man of the tribe Khuzâ'ah who, long before the advent of Muḥammad, challenged the Quraish on account of their idolatry He was a star-worshipper, and his name, according to Az-Zubair, was Abû Kabshah Wajz ibn 'Âmir ibn Ghâlib. Thus the name "Abû Kabshah's son" seems to have been given by the Quraish to the Prophet in derision of his efforts to efface idolatry.

54 "Sons of the Yellow one"—a nickname given by the Arabs to the Byzantines owing to their fair complexion (*UGh* i, 274).

55. This part of the Tradition does not belong to Abû Sufyân's narrative Its narrator is Ibn an-Nâṭûr. According to Abû Nu'aim (*Dalâ'il an-nabuwwah, apud FB* i, 31), Az-Zuhrî heard it directly from the lips of Ibn an-Nâṭûr whom he met at Damascus in the period of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwân; at that time he had already embraced Islâm.—As already explained (I, 35), the first part of Ibn an-Nâṭûr's story chronologically precedes that of Abû Sufyân.

56. The Arabic word *ṣâḥib* has several meanings: if used in association with another person it means "friend" or "companion," while in connection with a country or town it stands for "ruler" or "governor."

Circumcision hath now appeared.[57] Who, then, circumciseth from amongst this nation?" —They said: "Nobody circumciseth but the Jews; and their existence may not bother thee. Write unto the cities of thy kingdom, and they will kill whoso there is of the Jews."

في النجوم ملك الختان قد ظهر؛ فمن يختتن من هذه الأمة؟» — قالوا: «ليس يختتن الا اليهود، فلا يهمنك شأنهم؛ واكتب الى مدائن ملكك فيقتلوا من فيهم من اليهود.»

Thereupon, whilst they were thus occupied, there came unto Heraclius a man whom the king of Ghassân had sent[58] to inform [the Emperor] about the Apostle of God. Then, when he had heard his tale, Heraclius said: "Go and see whether he is circumcised or not." Then they looked at him and reported him to be circumcised. And [Heraclius] asked him about the Arabs; thereupon he said: "They circumcise."—Then Heraclius said: "It is this people's king that hath now appeared!"

فبيناهم على أمرهم أتي هرقل برجل أرسل به ملك غسان يخبر عن خبر رسول الله [ص]. فلما استخبره هرقل قال: «اذهبوا فانظروا أمختتن هو أم لا.» فنظروا اليه فحدثوه أنه مختتن. وسأله عن العرب، فقال: «هم يختتنون.» — فقال هرقل: «هذا ملك هذه الأمة قد ظهر!»

Thereafter[59] Heraclius wrote unto a friend of his at Constantinople who was his equal in knowledge. And Heraclius proceeded toward Ḥimṣ; and ere he reached Ḥimṣ there came unto him a letter from his friend in which he agreed with the view of Heraclius regarding the appearance of the Prophet and that [indeed] he was a Prophet.

ثم كتب هرقل الى صاحب له برومية وكان نظيره في العلم؛ وسار هرقل الى حمص، فلم يرم حمص حتى أتاه كتاب من صاحبه يوافق رأي هرقل على خروج النبي [ص] و أنه نبي.

Thereupon Heraclius invited the great men of Byzantium into his castle at Ḥimṣ. Then he gave an order concerning its doors, and they were locked; then he rose and said: "O ye people of Byzantium! Do ye care for

فأذن هرقل لعظماء الروم في دسكرة له بحمص؛ ثم أمر بأبوابها فغلقت، ثم اطلع فقال: «يامعشر الروم! هل لكم في الفلاح و الرشد

57. Heraclius was perturbed because he read in the appearance of the "King of Circumcision" a danger for himself.

58. In this version it would appear as if 'Adî ibn Hatim, the messenger of the king of Ghassân (*cf* I, 47), had come to Heraclius alone, and as if the subsequent incident related to him. But in another version of the same Tradition (*cf* I, 35) it is distinctly stated that "there came the messenger of the Ruler of Busrâ together with a man of the Arabs" —who, obviously, was no other than Dihyah al-Kalbî, the bearer of the Prophet's letter to Heraclius. As is quite evident from that version, Heraclius' question about circumcision was addressed to him, but as he was himself a follower of the Prophet his answer did not satisfy the Emperor, and he sent for Abu Sufyân in order to obtain the evidence of one who could not be supposed to be prejudiced in favour of the Prophet.

59. The expression *thumma* ("thereafter") does not mean that the events related in this part of Ibn an-Nâtûr's story happened immediately after those previously related. As has been explained in I, 35, the first part of Ibn an-Nâtûr's story chronologically precedes that of Abû Sufyân. From the word *thumma* onward the narrative refers to a considerably later time. During the expedition of Tabûk (Rajab, 9 H.—September/October, 630 C.) the Prophet sent another message to Heraclius in which he gave him to choose between three possibilities: acceptance of Islâm, payment of *jizyah*, or fight. On this occasion, as before, Dihyah ibn Khalîfah was the Prophet's messenger (*MIH* iv, 74, *FB* i, 33).

salvation and wisdom, and that your kingdom be confirmed? Then ye will vow allegiance unto that Prophet."[60] Then they hurried to the doors with the hurry of wild asses, and found them locked. And when Heraclius saw their repugnance and despaired of [the possibility of accepting] the faith, he said: "Bring them back unto me!" And he said: "Behold, I said these words of mine now so that I might try therewith your ardour with regard to your religion; and now I have seen." Then they prostrated themselves before him and were pleased with him. And this was the last of Heraclius [regarding this matter].[61]

Ṣâliḥ ibn Kaisân, Yûnus and Ma'mar narrated this [Tradition], on the authority of Az-Zuhrî.[62]

وأن يثبت ملككم؟ فتبايعوا هذا النبي.» فحاصوا حيصة حمر الوحش الى الأبواب فوجدوها قد غلقت. فلما رأى هرقل نفرتهم وأيس من الايمان قال: «ردوهم عليّ» وقال: «اني قلت مقالتي آنفاً أختبر بها شدتكم على دينكم، فقد رأيت.» فسجدوا له ورضوا عنه. فكان ذلك آخر شأن هرقل.

رواه صالح بن كيسان ويونس ومعمر عن الزهري

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60. In another Tradition referring to the same incident (*MIH* iv, 74) it is told that Heraclius put before his councillors the Prophet's alternative: to accept Islâm, to pay a tribute, or to fight (I, 59). They vehemently opposed the first two possibilities and decided to fight.

61. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalânî (*FB* i, 33) erroneously assumes that this means "so far as the narrator (Ibn an-Nâṭûr) knew." He obviously confuses the events related above with those narrated by Abû Sufyân; this is evident from his (Ibn Ḥajar's) subsequent remark that after this occurrence other letters were exchanged between the Prophet and Heraclius. But, as has been already explained (I, 35, 59), this part of Ibn an-Nâṭûr's story refers to the Prophet's second message, from Tabûk,—and after that, in fact, all relations between the Prophet and Heraclius ceased, which fully justifies Ibn an-Nâṭûr's remark: "And this was the last of Heraclius (regarding this matter)."

It seems, however, that Heraclius never got the better of his uneasy feelings as regards Islâm. From the very beginning of the fight between the Muslims and the Byzantine Empire, which fell in the later part of Heraclius' reign, he, who during his whole previous life always personally led his armies, remained conspicuously absent from the scene of war. In his last years he was continuously tormented by abstract fears and premonitions and died, broken in body and in spirit, in February, 641 (*cf.* Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire;* Diehl, *Byzance, Grandeur et Décadence;* Stein, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches*).

62. This refers to similar versions of the same Tradition which Al-Bukhârî brings in other chapters of his work (*cf.* Synopsis).



SYNOPSIS

OF

"HOW THE REVELATION BEGAN"

SEVEN TRADITIONS

Quoted, in full or in part, in the following compilations:

(K. stands for " Kitâb "; A. for " Abwâb ")

Tr. 1:	SB	Bad' al-waḥî, K. al-îmân, K. al-'itq, Hijrat an-nabî, K. an-nikâḥ, K. al-aimân wa 'n-nudhûr, K. al-ḥiyal
	SM	K. al-jihâd
	N	K. al-îmân, K. aṭ-ṭahârah, K. al-'itâq, K. aṭ-ṭalâq
	T	A. al-ḥudûd
	AD	K. aṭ-ṭalâq
	IM	A. az-zuhd
	MIH	i. 25
Tr. 2:	SB	Bad' al-waḥî, K. bad' al-khalq
	SM	K. al-faḍâ'il
Tr. 3:	SB	Bad' al-waḥî, K. at-tafsîr, K. at-ta'bîr
	SM	K. al-îmân
	N	K. at-tafsîr
	T	A. at-tafsîr
Tr. 4:	SB	Bad' al-waḥî, K. at-tafsîr
	SM	K. al-îmân
Tr. 5:	SB	Bad' al-waḥî, K. at-tafsîr, K. faḍâ'il al-Qur'ân
	SM	K. aṣ-ṣalâh
	T	A. at-tafsîr
Tr. 6:	SB	Bad' al-waḥî, K. aṣ-ṣawm, K. bad' al-khalq, K. al-anbiyâ', K. faḍâ'il al-Qur'ân
	SM	K. faḍâ'il an-nabî
Tr. 7:	SB	Bad' al-waḥî, K. ash-shahâdât, K. al-jihâd, K. al-maghâzî, K. at-tafsîr, K. al-adab, K. al-isti'dhân, K. al-aḥkâm
	SM	K. al-maghâzî
	N	K. at-tafsîr
	T	A. al-isti'dhân
	AD	K. al-adab

This chapter on Revelation was conceived by Al-Bukhârî as a sort of Introduction to his work; and for this reason he did not divide it in sections like the other chapters.

In Arabic, *waḥî* (revelation) means a communication from without, which, to the exclusion of all others, the receiver alone can perceive (*A*). According to some authorities, this communication, whether by words, sounds or signs, must be rapid (*Rgh*). In the theological usage it denotes a direct or indirect message from God to a Prophet, that is, a revelation. Sometimes this word stands also for the contents of that message or revelation. (This is indicated, in the translation, by the use of a capital R.) The difference between *waḥî* (revelation), which is restricted to Prophets only, and *ilhâm* (inspiration), which is shared alike by Prophets and other persons of a high degree of spiritual realisation, consists in the fact that *ilhâm* invariably appears as the product of one's own spiritual activity, a sort of illumination from within, which possibly is the result of the working of the subconscious mind, suddenly emerging into consciousness; while *waḥî* has always the character of a message from an outside source. Thus, the verses of the Qur'ân were *revealed;* while the personal sayings and doings of the Prophet, which are the subject-matter of the Traditions, were *inspired,* the only exceptions being the " Sacred Traditions " (*al-aḥâdîth al-qudsîyah*), in which the Prophet repeats Words of God received through revelation, but not forming part of the Qur'ân. As inspiration depends on spiritual activity alone, it can be experienced by everyone who purifies his mind and attains to a high degree of psychical sensitiveness; but revelation depends on an outside factor, that is, a Divine communication, and is, therefore, beyond the pale of human endeavour as such.

The first Tradition of this chapter contains the fundamental principle of Islâm: "Actions are judged according to intentions." Whatever man does with a good intention and for the sake of God alone, will be judged by Him according to the intention which prompted the action. This Tradition discountenances intolerance and lack of charity in spiritual matters. A good intention will always have its value, whatever its overt result may be; and thus sincere search after truth will be rewarded as such, even if one errs in the methods chosen for its attainment.

Of the remaining six Traditions only two (3 and 4) directly refer to the beginning of Muṣṭafâ's revelation; three (2, 5 and 6) deal with the Prophet's reaction to revelations; and the last (7) describes the reactions of his opponents towards his claim to Prophethood.

Another very important point in Tr. 7 must be mentioned here. In the Prophet's letter to Heraclius occurs the sentence: "... and that we shall not take one another for lords instead of God." The word *arbâb* (here translated as "lords" is the plural form of *rabb* which, if used with reference to God, means "Sustainer"; while with reference to a human being it denotes one who protects and directs those who depend on him. This latter meaning applies also to the spiritual leaders of a community, because it is they who lay down rules of conduct and morality. For a Believer, the supreme moral leadership is vested in God; therefore, the right leader can only be he who acts as an interpreter of the Divine Commandments. If he deviates from this principle and gives commandments contradictory to those of God, he usurps—in practice if not in theory—the status of the supreme law-giver; and those who follow him make him a "lord instead of God." The spiritual leaders of the "People of Scripture" (Jews and Christians) of that epoch used to corrupt the teachings of the former Prophets and thus led people astray. The Qur'ân-verse, of which the sentence above is an extract, demands that the Word of God should be regarded as the final criterion of our beliefs and actions. The teachings of learned men and spiritual leaders should never be accepted blindly, but should always be subjected to the test of the Word of God. But if this verse is addressed to the "People of the Scripture" it nevertheless applies to Muslims as well. It is true, in their case the original Revelation has not been corrupted or mutilated in the same sense as the older Revealed Books: the text of the Qur'ân and the records of the Prophet's Sunnah still remain intact; but they have been so overloaded with imaginary and sometimes quite misleading interpretations that the average Muslim can only with difficulty find his way through this maze. Most of the spiritual miseries and social difficulties of the present-day Muslim World could have been avoided if only our ancestors had always understood that it is the Word of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet to which we must intelligently and ultimately look for guidance; instead, they have denied themselves the right of thinking which God has conceded to them, they have ceased to make use of their own judgment in matters religious and submitted with blind awe to the sound of great names of the past. However great those great men were, they were but human and liable to errors of judgment. To regard them as infallible is to divest them of a very human characteristic and almost to elevate them to "lords instead of God."

All the seven Traditions of this chapter give us very instructive glimpses of the Prophet's moral character. We see before us a man, earnest and upright by nature, burdened with the tremendous weight of a world-wide mission, at first almost succumbing under this weight, then, as time wears on, gaining in strength and breadth of purpose, until he outshines all other men, in his greatness and clearness and simplicity.

II
THE BOOK OF FAITH

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST GRACIOUS, THE DISPENSER OF GRACE.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

II
THE BOOK OF FAITH

٢
كتاب الايمان

—and it[1] is word and deed, and it increaseth and decreaseth.[2]

— وهو قول و فعل و يزيد وينقص.

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1. *i.e.*, faith.

2. From the linguistic point of view, *îmân* is derived from the root *amn* (security); it denotes security from fear or rest of mind (*Rgh*; *A*)—and thence, in the theological sense, the faith in God and the sincere acceptance of the Islâmic *sharî'ah* (*Qs*). The theological definition of faith and the question, whether it increases and decreases with the circumstances, or is a stationary force in the human soul, has for centuries been the focus of hot controversies among the Muslim thinkers. Among the numberless conflicting opinions we easily can discern four main groups of thought which define *îmân* as follows:

(*a*) Belief in heart (*'aqd bil-qalb*) only. This belief implies, according to some exponents of the *Ash'arî* and *Mâturîdî* schools of thought, the acknowledgment (*taṣdîq*) of the existence of God and the fact that He has sent Prophets, of whom Muḥammad is the last, to guide mankind according to His Will. Those attributes of God which are not clearly expressed in the Qur'ân and the Sunnah are not an object of *îmân* and, therefore, the belief in them is open to individual conceptions and not an indispensable condition of salvation. The *Jahmîyah* school of thought (so called after Jahm ibn Safwân, a theologian who lived towards the end of the Umayyad period) reduces the conception of *'aqd bil-qalb* to a mere platonic knowledge of God gained by reason.

(*b*) The saying "There is no deity but God, and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God." According to Ghailân ibn Muslim ad-Dimashqî, Faḍl ar-Raqqâshî, and others, the above saying (which for them is equivalent to *îmân*) must be based upon cognition of God in heart, but this cognition does not form *part* of faith. The *Karrâmîyah* went even further and declared that no such cognition is necessary at all, and that all requirements of *îmân* are fulfilled with the pronunciation of the formula of faith. They obviously confused *îmân* with *islâm* in its narrowest, formal sense.

(*c*) Belief in heart (*i'tiqâd bil-qalb*) in God and all His attributes, as well as in His Prophets and Revelations, together with an oral profession of this belief (*shahâdah bil-lisân*). This position is held by Imâm Abû Ḥanîfah, Abû 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arî, Bishr al-Marîsî, and others. According to them, faith essentially is the acknowledgment (*taṣdîq*) of Truth, and as such it neither can increase nor decrease; it is stationary because of the element of *certainty* conditional to acknowledgment; a certainty capable of increasing or decreasing is no certainty at all. Thus, the status of a Faithful (*mu'min*) is the result of intellectual conviction *plus* its profession. Good or bad actions may increase or decrease the individual merits of man, but they have no direct influence upon his *îmân*.—The idea that faith is formally independent of actions, whether right or wrong, has been developed to its extreme by the *Murji'ah*, who declared that belief and its oral profession are sufficient for the attainment of salvation, and that the latter can be achieved even if the individual intentionally violates all Divine Commandments. This antinomian view, commonly regarded as heretic by all orthodox Muslim schools of thought, is, together with that of the *Jahmîyah* mentioned in the first group, the intellectual forerunner of a form of Ṣûfism known as *be-shar'* (*i.e.*, not submitting to the law of *sharî'ah*) which, during the third century after the Hijrah, found its culminating point in the ecstatic pantheism of Manṣûr Al-Ḥallâj. The *Murji'ah*, as well as the *Jahmîyah*, have long since ceased to exert a noticeable influence on Muslim theology.

(*d*) Belief in heart (*'itiqâd bil-qalb*) together with its outward profession (*shahâdah bil-lisân*) and the full submission (*inqîyâd*) to the commandments of God and His Prophet. The last mentioned element of *îmân* so defined varies in intensity according to man's actions—and, therefore, *îmân*, of which *inqîyâd* is a part, is *eo ipso* capable of increasing and decreasing. Mental acknowledgment is but a part of the composite entity which we call faith; the right actions (*al-a'mâl aṣ-ṣâliḥah*), in which the submission to the Divine Will finds its expression, are not a condition of faith as such, but a condition of its completeness or perfection. By performing right actions, man strengthens his faith; correspondingly, he weakens it by omitting good actions or committing wrong ones. But even apart from actions faith can increase or decrease with man's capability of approaching the true meaning of God's attributes, and of adapting his attitude of mind, his likes and dislikes, to the requirements of the Divine Law. This school of thought is represented by most of the Companions of the Prophet, the *aṣḥâb al-ḥadîth*, the Imâms Mâlik, Shâfi'î, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Al-Awzâ'î, Al-Bukhârî, and other learned men of lesser degree. (*Note continued on next page.*)

From this outline of the different theological conceptions of *îmân* it appears that the dissensions between the various Muslim schools of thought, so for as this problem is concerned, were actuated by two main points: firstly, whether *îmân* is a purely spiritual matter or is composed of external elements as well, and, secondly, whether it is stationary or changing.

As regards the first problem, the overwhelming majority of Muslim theologians, supported by arguments from the Qur'ân and the Sunnah, identify themselves with either of the groups mentioned under (*c*) and (*d*)—that is, with the idea that faith is composed both of spiritual elements (belief, knowledge, etc.) and their outward manifestation (profession of the formula of faith in *one case*, and profession *plus* actions in the other). In this respect, the difference between the theologians of the group (*c*), *e.g.*, Imâm Abû Ḥanîfah, and those of the group (*d*), to whom Imâm Al-Bukhârî belongs, consists only in the question whether right actions are an integral part of faith or not. This difference is merely a formal one. Those in group (*d*) assert that right actions are a part of faith, and indispensable for its *completeness*, but not for its *reality*,—that is, if a man does not perform right actions he does not cease to be a Faithful (provided his belief and its profession comply with the requirements of the *sharî'ah*), but his faith is not perfect; while the theologians of group (c) do not regard right actions as indispensable for the completeness of faith *in itself*, but, nevertheless, as an important factor in man's endeavour to attain full salvation in the Hereafter. Thus, according to both schools of thought, right actions (or *intentions*, as has been made clear in the first Tradition of this work) are decisive factors in the ultimate shaping of man's spiritual destiny. The too subtle differentiations between actions as "part" or "supplement" of faith belong to the rather antiquated philosophical armoury of Neo-Platonism, and have long since lost all attraction for the modern mind. If we free ourselves from the word-play of the *mutakallimûn* (scholastic theologians)—and it is high time for Muslims to do so—we at once realise that, so far as the question of the composition of faith is concerned, there is little difference between the views enumerated under (*c*) and (*d*).

There is, however, a difference in the second part of the problem—that relating to the question whether individual faith can increase and decrease.

If we take faith in the sense of mental acknowledgment (*taṣdîq*) with the necessary element of full certainty in it, as, *e.g.*, Imâm Abû Ḥanîfah does, it is clear that it can neither increase nor decrease: it is simply existent or non-existent. But this, it seems, is too narrow a conception of the spiritual phenomenon, "faith," because it limits it to a mere intellectual function. In reality, faith is an extremely complex entity. It is not simply an attitude of mind based on conviction or reasoning alone, but rather an inner *movement*, a sum total of many spiritual forces and currents which—as in every other movement, spiritual or material,—almost permanently vary in their intensity, even if their basis, the intellectual acknowledgment of a truth (that is, belief), remains unchanged. Modern psychological research has brought forward many interesting evidences of this fact which, moreover, finds its expression in the Qur'ân itself. There we often find the word *hudâ* (guidance) substituted for *îmân*; and spiritual "guidance" is certainly a very complicated phenomenon. Its coming into existence depends on many widely different factors. To mention only a few: time and occasion; the intellectual status of the man concerned; his previous experiences; his physical condition; the influence of his social surroundings, etc. Thus, "guidance" is not simply a onesided Divine function from without the individual but a play of many forces and influences, actions and reactions—in one word, a *movement* like that implied in the term "faith" for which it is substituted. Faith and guidance are essentially dynamic. The dynamic quality inherent in faith makes for the actual difference between faith and belief. Belief, as defined above, has (as long as it exists) the same degree of intensity; while faith, which is based on belief—but no more identical with the latter than a house is identical with its foundations—, is subject to increase and decrease.

This conception (gained, perhaps, by methods of reasoning somewhat different from our present ones) is the foundation on which Al-Bukhârî builds his compilation of *The Book of Faith*. The arrangement of Traditions and the explanations which he has added to different sections of this chapter tend to prove that the Prophet himself conceived *îmân* as a fluctuating, complex phenomenon; and there is hardly a doubt left that Al-Bukhârî has succeeded in his task. The increase and decrease of faith (not to be taken in the sense of quantity, but that of intensity) is a psychological fact which cannot be seriously denied; and its practical importance lies in the enhancement of *actions* as one of the determining factors not only of man's status in the Hereafter, but also of his status as a Faithful (*mu'min*) in the life of this world. This is entirely in keeping with the general philosophy of Islâm which calls upon man to exert his active qualities to the utmost.

Beyond this, the dialectical differences about faith of the early *mutakallimûn* have only a historical value. They merely represent a stage in the development of Muslim thought, and should not be taken as final verdicts on a problem which is bound, as our psychological knowledge progresses, to reveal new depths and radiations. Instead of passively relying on the intellectual labours, however valuable, of the past generations, the Muslims must again learn to apply their own powers of reasoning to the philosophical problems of Islâm.—

It is evident from Al-Bukhârî's definition of faith as composed of "word and deed" that in the term "deed" he comprises external right actions (*al-a'mâl aṣ-ṣâliḥah*) as well as the action in the heart (*'amal bil-qalb*), that is, belief. This idea he again and again re-iterates in the headings of various sections of this chapter.

In the following he quotes verses of the Qur'ân, a Tradition of the Prophet, and various sayings of Companions and *tâb'ûn* in support of his view that right actions are a part of faith, and that it increases and decreases.

God, the Most High, said: "...that they may add more faith to their faith."[3]—"And We increased them in guidance."[4]—"And God increaseth in guidance those who have followed the guidance."[5]—"And as for those who have followed the guidance, He increased them in guidance and granted them their fear of God."[6]—"... and that those who have faith may increase in faith."[7]—And His Word: "Which of you hath this (*sûrah*) increased in faith?—As for those who have faith, it hath increased them in faith."[8]—And the Word of the Most High: "... therefore fear them!—but it increased them in faith."[9]—And the Word of the Most High: "It did but increase them in faith and submission (unto God)."[10]

قال الله تعالى: «... ليزدادوا ايمانا مع ايمانهم.» — «وزدناهم هدى.» — «ويزيد الله الذين اهتدوا هدى.» — «والذين اهتدوا زادهم هدى وآتاهم تقواهم.» — «... ويزداد الذين آمنوا ايمانا.» — وقوله: «أيكم زادته هذه ايمانا؟ — فاما الذين آمنوا فزادتهم ايمانا.» — وقوله تعالى: «... فاخشوهم! — فزادهم ايمانا.» — وقوله تعالى: «وما زادهم الا ايمانا وتسليما.»

And "love for the sake of God and hatred for the sake of God" are (part) of the faith.[11]

و«الحب في الله والبغض في الله» من الايمان.

And 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz[12] wrote unto 'Adî ibn 'Adî[13]: "Behold, unto the faith belong duties and beliefs and the (avoiding of) things forbidden and the (doing of) things done or ordered by the Prophet. And whoso hath accomplished these (conditions) hath accomplished the faith; and whoso hath not accomplished them hath not accomplished the faith. And if I remain alive, I will show them unto you[14] until ye act upon them; and if I die, I shall not be desirous of your companionship."

وكتب عمر بن عبد العزيز الى عدى بن عدى: «ان للايمان فرائض وشرائع وحدودا وسننا، فمن استكملها استكمل الايمان، ومن لم يستكملها لم يستكمل الايمان. فان أعش فسأبينها لكم حتى تعملوا بها، وان أمت فما أنا على صحبتكم بحريص.»

And Abraham said: "... but that my heart be at ease."[15]—

وقال ابراهيم: «ولكن ليطمئن قلبي» — وقال معاذ:

3. *Q.* xlviii, 4.
4. „ xviii, 13.—As to the use of the word *hudâ* (guidance) instead of *îmân*, see II, 2.
5. „ xix, 76.
6. „ xlvii, 17.
7. „ lxxiv, 31.
8. „ ix, 124.
9. „ iii, 173.
10. „ xxxiii, 22.

11. This is a fragment from an authentic Tradition (quoted in *AD, Kitâb al-îmân*, on the authority of Abû Dharr), which runs as follows: "The most excellent of actions are love for the sake of God and hatred for the sake of God." Al-Bukhârî did not incorporate it in his own compilation because he did not hear it directly from any of the transmitters. Here he intends to show that "actions" do not necessarily consist in external manifestations, but may be "actions of the heart"—in another word, *intentions*—as well.

12. 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn Marwân, Commander of the Faithful (99—101 H.) of the dynasty of Banû Umayyah, called 'Umar the Second (after 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb) owing to his great righteousness and piety. In the Muslim opinion he almost ranks with the Four Right-Guided Caliphs (Abû Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmân and 'Alî) and is generally described as "the fifth of the Right-Guided Caliphs." His mother was Ḥafṣah bint 'Âṣim, a granddaughter of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb. Once, before his accession to the Caliphate, he led the prayers and Anas ibn Mâlik, the famous Companion of the Prophet, prayed behind him; thereafter Anas was reported to have said: "I never saw anyone who, in his prayers, resembled the Prophet more than this youth." (*'UQ* i, 133). He was the first who thought of systematically collecting the Traditions of the Prophet which till then were preserved only in scattered notebooks and the memory of the *tâbi'ûn*, and issued orders to that effect to all his governors. This collection, however, did not reach us. It either was never completed—'Umar died after a short rule of two years and five months, and his successors did not share his religious zeal—or else it was lost shortly after his death.

13. 'Adî ibn 'Adî al-Kindî, a *tâbi'î* from the Jazîrah (Northern Mesopotamia) and its governor on behalf of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz. The above is an extract of 'Umar's letter to him (quoted in the *Kitâb al-îmân* by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *apud FB* i, 36), probably written in connection with the intended collection of the Prophet's Traditions (see preceding Note).

14. *i.e.*, by presenting to the Muslims a collection of the Prophet's Traditions which would show the way Muṣṭafâ himself understood and practised Islâm.

15. *Q.* ii, 260. With this verse Al-Bukhârî conclusively proves that faith is capable of increasing. The Prophet Abraham who uttered these words, after having requested God to show him the raising of the dead to life, was not

And Mu'âdh said: "Sit down with us so that we may at once perform an act of faith."[16]—And Ibn Mas'ûd said: "Certainty is the sum total of faith."[17]—And Ibn 'Umar said: "Man doth not attain the true meaning of the fear of God until he dismisseth whatever doubt there is in [his] heart."[18]

And Mujâhid said: "'He hath ordained for you'[19]—[that is,] "We have commanded unto thee, o Muḥammad, together with him[20] one and the same religion.'"[21]

«اجلس بنا نؤمن ساعة .» — وقال ابن مسعود، «اليقين الايمان كله.» — وقال ابن عمر، «لا يبلغ العبد حقيقة التقوى حتى يدع ما حاك في الصدر.»

وقال مجاهد، «شرع لكم — أوصيناك يا محمد واياه دينا واحداً.»

NOTE.—*Here follows, in the original text, a saying of Ibn 'Abbâs; it has been omitted here because it exclusively bears on linguistical matters and is, therefore, not of general interest. The reader will find it, without translation, under No. 1 in Appendix A to this volume.*

SECTION I

(١) بـاب

THE SAYING OF THE PROPHET: "ISLÂM IS BUILT UPON FIVE THINGS"

قول النبي [ص]: «بني الاسلام على خمس»

(8) 'Ubaid Allâh ibn Mûsâ related to us, saying: Ḥanẓalah ibn abî Sufyân told us, on the authority of 'Ikrimah ibn Khâlid, on the authority of Ibn 'Umar, who said:

(٨) حدثنا عبيد الله بن موسى قال: أخبرنا حنظلة بن أبي سفيان عن عكرمة بن خالد عن ابن عمر قال:

THE Apostle of God said: "Islâm is built upon five things: the testimony that

قال رسول الله [ص] : «بني الاسلام على

lacking in faith; but he knew that, if he were to witness resurrection with his own eyes, all possible doubts would be dispelled for ever. He believed that God had this power; the mental acknowledgment (*taṣdîq*) was already there. But his faith would become more intensive if he were allowed to obtain full certainty by witnessing it with his bodily eyes (*'ain al-yaqîn*). This verse clearly shows that an occasional doubt does not destroy the reality of faith, but that it is not perfect until the last doubt is dispelled. Furthermore it clearly shows (though this is another subject) that even the Prophets are human and sometimes subject to weaknesses of the spirit like other mortals. The only difference between them and the rest of mankind is that they receive Divine Revelations which are a constant correcting factor in their lives (*cf.* II, 58).

16. The Arabic word used in the text is *nu'min*, literally: "that we may have faith." But Mu'âdh ibn Jabal al-Anṣârî, who said these words, was a famous Companion of the Prophet and, as his history proves, a man of firm faith throughout. His words, therefore, can only mean: "let us do a thing which will strengthen our faith"—or, as I have translated: "let us perform an act of faith." In both cases this saying indicates that faith can be strengthened by actions, and that right actions, in themselves, are a part and an expression of faith. The action alluded to was probably the reciting of the Qur'ân, *dhikr*, or the narrating of the Prophet's Traditions. The person thus addressed was the *tâbi'* Aswad ibn Hilâl (Ibn abî Shaibah, *Muṣannaf, apud 'UQ* i, 136).

17. The use of the words "sum total of faith" (*al-îmân kulluhu*) indicates that in the conception of the Companions (and this is the highest criterion after the Word of God and the Sunnah of the Prophet) faith is an entity composed of different parts, and certainty is not (as *e.g.* Imâm Abû Ḥanîfah and Al-Ash'arî assume) one of those parts, but their ultimate result.

18. Here again the idea is expressed that freedom of every kind of doubt represents the highest degree of faith, and that doubts, so long as they do not overwhelm the beliefs, are not absolutely incompatible with faith (*cf.* II, 15). This saying of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar is supported by several Traditions of the Prophet which express similar ideas.

19. Reference to Q. xlii, 13: "He hath ordained for you that religion which He commended unto Noah."

20. *i.e.*, Noah.

21. In his endeavour further to define faith, Al-Bukhârî quotes the above Qur'ân-verse and its explanation by the *tâbi'* Mujâhid to show that the religion of Muḥammad is in its essentials identical with that of the former Prophets (*cf.* I, 3). He obviously regards *dîn* (religion or, more exactly, the entity of religious commandments) as identical with *îmân*: he takes this term not only in its primary meaning "faith," but also as denoting the object of faith, *i.e.*, the contents of Divine Revelations. This reasoning of Al-Bukhârî is very unsatisfactory. As has been explained before (II, 2), *îmân* is a spiritual function born in the human heart and then outwardly manifested; while *dîn* is the sum total of religious commandments, both spiritual and material, originating from an outside agency (the authority of God or His Prophet) and recognised by the Faithful as binding. It is *îmân* which prompts man to submit to *dîn*; and, consequently, both cannot be identical.

there is no deity but God and that Muḥammad is the Apostle of God, and the observance of prayer, and the paying of the sacred tax,[22] and the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the fast of Ramaḍân."[23]

خمس: شهادة أن لا اله الا الله وأن محمداً رسول الله و اقام الصلاة وايتاء الزكاة والحج وصوم رمضان.

22. A full explanation of this subject will be found in *The Book of the Sacred Tax* of this work.

23. This saying of the Prophet contains a fundamental definition of Islâm; it is, by the way, one of the best authenticated of all existing Traditions. Al-Bukhârî brings it in *The Book of Faith* obviously for two reasons; firstly, because it contains a dogmatic declaration of the tenets of Islâm, and, secondly, because for him (as well as for others of the early *aṣḥâb-al-ḥadîth*) the term *islâm* is often equivalent to *îmân*. It must be borne in mind that this does not refer to the external form of Islâm which consists in the oral testimony "there is no deity but God, and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God," and which secures to man the formal status of a Muslim in the society of Muslims, but refers to Islâm in its innermost meaning, that is, sincere submission to God and His commandments for the love and fear of Him; in other words, Islâm not in its relation to human society alone, but in its relation to God. Parallel to this conception of *islâm* and *îmân*, Al-Bukhârî sometimes uses the terms *muslim* and *mu'min* as indicating one and the same thing (*e.g.*, in Tr. 10). Whenever *muslim* is used in contrast to *mu'min* (*e.g.*, in the explanation of Section xviii and in the subsequent Tradition) it merely indicates the formal status obtained by the pronunciation of the formula of faith.

This presentation of the five principal tenets (*arkân*) of Islâm has a deep meaning which has eluded many Muslim thinkers. It was not at random that the Prophet chose five from among the many tenets of Islâm. These five prominent points exemplify the principal aspects of a right-guided life, and have thus been elevated, though each of them is real and self-contained, to symbols of the entire circle of human existence.

The centre of this circle is the idea of God's Oneness. God said in the Holy Qur'ân:

«وما خلقت الجن والانس الا ليعبدون»

"I have not created Jinn and Man but they worship Me" (Q. li, 56).

The conception of "worship" in Islâm is different from that in any other religion. Here it is not restricted to the purely devotional practices but extends over the whole of man's practical life, individual and social. If the object of our life on the whole is the worship of God, then we necessarily must regard this life, in the totality of all its aspects, as one complex moral responsibility. Thus, all our actions, even the seemingly trivial ones, must be performed as acts of worship, that is, performed consciously as constituting a part in God's universal plan. The achievement of this purpose is impossible so long as we divide our life into two parts, the spiritual and the material; they must be bound together, in our consciousness and our actions, into one harmonious entity. Our notion of God's Oneness must be reflected in our striving towards a co-ordination and unification of the various aspects of life. Therefore, Islâm undertakes to define not only the metaphysical relations between man and his Creator, but also—and with scarcely less insistence—the earthly relations between the individual and his social surroundings. The worldly life is not regarded as a mere shade of the Hereafter that is to come, but as a self-contained, positive entity. God himself is a Unity not only in essence, but also in purpose; and, therefore, His creation is a Unity, possibly in essence, but certainly in purpose.

This idea undoubtedly underlies the Tradition which we are now considering. It shows us in a practical and, at the same time, symbolical way how everyone of us can reproduce, within the limits of his earthly life, the unity of Idea and Action. This is the meaning of the Five Principal Tenets of Islâm. Let us regard them one by one.

The testimony that there is no deity but God and that Muḥammad is the Apostle of God. The first part of this formula presumes the recognition, by man, of the existence of a single, unchanging Creative Cause underlying the universe, and separated from this universe by the fact of its unique independence from all causality; and the second part declares that this creative, conscious power, which we call God, exerts a permanent guiding influence on mankind by sending Apostles who act under direct Divine Revelation. Man recognises himself as a purposeful unit in a system, and submits to God's plan by following His Apostle.

The observance of prayer. In this term the relation between God and man is defined as that between the Dispenser of Grace and the needy; and the duties of man resulting from this relation are condensed in the symbol "prayer" which embraces formal ritual as well as spiritual devotion in all its manifestations.

The paying of the sacred tax. This tax (*zakâh*) is a symbol of social obligation. There exist, in fact, many more duties towards the community, and some of them, as *e.g.*, *jihâd*, require a far higher sacrifice; but as a Muslim is only occasionally called upon to perform them, while *zakâh* is a permanent, ever-recurring institution, the Prophet has chosen the latter to symbolise man's social duties in their widest sense.

The fast of Ramaḍân. The obligation of fasting during a whole month, from dawn to sunset, requires a good deal of self-control and perseverance and is, therefore, an excellent means of cultivating discipline of body and spirit. But beyond

SECTION II

THE COMPONENTS OF THE FAITH

And the Word of God, the Most High: "It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces to the East and the West; but righteous is he who believeth[24] in God and the Last Day and the angels and the Scripture and the Prophets, and giveth (his) possessions, for love of Him, to kinsfolk and the orphans and the needy and the wayfarer and those who ask and for the freeing of slaves; and observeth prayer and payeth the sacred tax; and [so are] those who fulfill their promise when they make one, and the patient in tribulation and adversity and time of stress. These are the God-fearing."[25]—"Successful indeed are the Faithful."[26]

(9) 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad related to us: Abū 'Āmir al-'Aqdī related to us, saying: Sulaimān ibn Bilāl related to us, on the authority of 'Abd Allāh ibn Dīnār, on the authority of Abū Hurairah,

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: "Faith is [composed of] sixty and odd[27] branches—and shame is a branch of faith."

(٢) بـــاب

أمور الايمان

وقول الله تعالى: «ليس البر أن تولوا وجوهكم قبل المشرق والمغرب، ولكن البر من آمن بالله واليوم الآخر والملائكة والكتاب والنبيين، وآتى المال على حبه ذوى القربى واليتامى والمساكين وابن السبيل والسائلين وفى الرقاب، وأقام الصلاة وآتى الزكاة والموفون بعهدهم اذا عاهدوا والصابرين فى البأساء والضراء وحين البأس، أولئك الذين صدقوا وأولئك هم المتقون.» — «قد أفلح المؤمنون . . . »

(٩) حدثنا عبد الله بن محمد: حدثنا أبو عامر العقدى قال: حدثنا سليمان بن بلال عن عبدالله بن دينار عن أبى صالح عن أبى هريرة

عن النبي [ص] قال: «الايمان بضع وستون شعبة — والحياء شعبة من الايمان.»

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this, the pangs of hunger and thirst which the Muslim experiences during Ramaḍān make him vividly imagine the sufferings of the needy, and make him ready to help his fellow-beings whenever he can. That this was the Prophet's own experience is shown in Tradition 5.

The pilgrimage to Mecca. The foremost goal of this pilgrimage is the assembling of Muslims from different parts of the world. They shall learn to understand one another and know the needs of Muslim countries other than their own. And this is the practical method of promoting the great Commonwealth of Islām, the brotherhood of men bound together by the same ideal of devotion to God, Whose Oneness, as also the unity of all Muslims, are symbolised in the *qiblah* of Mecca. And here the circle is closed: the last of the five tenets touches again upon the metaphysical problem expressed in the first.

As can be gleaned from this short analysis, the five principal tenets of Islām fully circumscribe Islāmic life: man's metaphysical orientation in the universe; the relations between Creator and created, and the duties of the latter towards the first; the practical relations between men as members of the society; the development of man's moral character; and the erection of the Islāmic Commonwealth as a practical proposition, in order that the rule of the Divine Law be established on earth.—

As it is impossible to exhaust this problem within the limits of one note, each item will again be dealt with in detail in the commentary on those chapters of this work which bear upon the subjects in question.

24. In the text the expression *āmana*, "he has faith," is used. But it is evident from the context that here only the intellectual side of faith, *i.e.*, belief, is meant: in the remaining portion of this verse other components of faith are mentioned which, when co-existing with belief, express the "fear of God" (*taqwā*)—here, as in many other verses of the Qur'ān, equivalent to "faith." In such cases *āmana* must be translated by "he believes."

25. Q. ii, 177.—The purpose of religion does not consist in the thoughtless performance of external acts of devotion, but in the highest development of human qualities as regards the attitude of man towards God and his fellow-beings. For Al-Bukhārī this is a proof that faith does not consist of belief and its profession alone (as *e.g.*, Imām Abū Ḥanīfah assumes), but of many other components as well; only the simultaneous presence of all those components—some of them spiritual and some, like actions, material—makes one's faith complete (*cf.* II, 2).

26. Q. xxiii, 1.

27. In the speech of the Arabs the numbers 10, 40, 60, 70, 100, etc., very often stand for "many," and do not necessarily denote a positive, exact number. Similarly, round numbers of 1000 and above usually denote "a multitude." Thus, in the above Tradition, the Prophet meant to say that faith is composed of many parts, and that shame is one of them.

SECTION III

A [TRUE] MUSLIM IS HE FROM WHOSE TONGUE AND HAND MUSLIMS ARE SAFE

(10) Âdam ibn abî Iyâs related to us, saying: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn abî 's-Safar and Ismâ'îl, on the authority of Ash-Sha'bî, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr,

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: "A [true] Muslim is he from whose tongue and hand Muslims are safe[28]; and a [true] Emigrant is he who migrated from that which God hath forbidden."[29]

> Abû 'Abd Allâh[30] said: Also, Abû Mu'âwiyah[31] said: Dâ'ûd related to us, on the authority of 'Âmir, who said: I heard [this Tradition from] 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr, on the authority of the Prophet;—and 'Abd al-A'lâ said: on the authority of Dâ'ûd, on the authority of 'Âmir, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh, on the authority of the Prophet.

(٣) بـــاب

المسلم من سلم المسلمون من لسانه ويده

(١٠) حدثنا آدم بن أبي اياس قال: حدثنا شعبة عن عبدالله بن أبي السفر واسمعيل عن الشعبي عن عبد الله بن عمرو

عن النبي [ص] قال: «المسلم من سلم المسلمون من لسانه ويده، والمهاجر من هجر ما نهى الله عنه.»

قال أبو عبدالله: وقال أبو معاوية: حدثنا داوٗد عن عامر قال: سمعت عبدالله بن عمرو عن النبي [ص]؛—وقال عبد الأعلى: عن داوٗد عن عامر عن عبدالله عن النبي [ص]

SECTION IV

WHICH [KIND] OF ISLÂM IS THE MOST EXCELLENT?

(11) Sa'îd ibn Yaḥyâ ibn Sa'îd al-Qurashî related to us, saying: My father[32] related to us, saying: Abû Burdah ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn abî Burdah related to us, on the authority of Abû Burdah,[33] on the authority of Abû Mûsâ, who said:

THEY said: "O Apostle of God! Which [kind] of Islâm is the most excellent[34]?"

(٤) بـــاب

أيّ الاسلام أفضل؟

(١١) حدثنا سعيد بن يحيى بن سعيد القرشي قال: حدثنا أبي قال: حدثنا أبو بردة بن عبدالله بن أبي بردة عن أبي بردة عن أبي موسى قال:

قالوا: «يارسول الله! أيّ الاسلام أفضل؟»

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28. Brotherhood of Muslims is one of the fundamental doctrines of Islâm; and, therefore, one who injures his brethren by words or actions cannot be regarded as a Muslim in the true sense of the word.

29. Regarding the meaning of *hijrah*, from which *muhâjir* (emigrant) is derived, see I, 4. Here the term is extended to its spiritual meaning: it denotes not only the bodily emigration from a place where unbelief reigns, but also the giving up of forbidden things in obedience to God's commandments. These words have been uttered by the Prophet to check the pride of some of the early *muhâjirûn* who, on account of the fact that they had followed the Prophet when he emigrated from Mecca to Al-Madînah, thought themselves better than the *anṣâr* of that place. Before God, the status of a Muslim is not based on external circumstances, but on his sincere submission to the Divine Commandments.

30. *i.e.*, Al-Bukhârî. This appendix refers to two other versions of the same Tradition.

31. The version of Abû Mu'âwiyah came (according to *FB* i, 42) to the knowledge of Al-Bukhârî through the *Musnad* of Isḥâq Ibn Râhwaih, and not directly from Abû Mu'âwiyah who died in the year 195 H., *i.e.*, when Al-Bukhârî was but one year old. As it is against Al-Bukhârî's principle to identify himself with a Tradition unless he personally heard it from the narrator, he only mentions it here without quoting its text. Similar is the case with the subsequently mentioned version of 'Abd al-A'lâ.

32. Yaḥyâ ibn Sa'îd al-Qurashî.

33. Grandfather of the preceding narrator.

34. The use, in Arabic, of a superlative—both in an appreciative and in a negative sense—does not always mean that the object in question is superior to anything else; it only implies that it ranks among the most superior things;

—He said: "That one's from whose tongue and hand Muslims are safe."

— قال: «من سلم المسلمون من لسانه ويده.»

SECTION V

باب (٥)

THE GIVING OF FOOD IS (AN ACT) OF ISLÂM

اطعام الطعام من الاسلام

(12) 'Amr ibn Khâlid related to us, saying: Al-Laith related to us, on the authority of Yazîd, on the authority of Abû 'l-Khair, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr:

(١٢) حدثنا عمرو بن خالد قال: حدثنا الليث عن يزيد عن أبي الخير عن عبد الله بن عمرو [رض]

A MAN asked the Prophet: "Which [act] of Islâm is the best?"—He said: "To give food [to the needy] and to greet whom thou knowest and whom thou dost not know."

أن رجلاً سأل النبي [ص]: «أيّ الاسلام خير؟» — قال: «تطعم الطعام وتقرأ السلام على من عرفت ومن لم تعرف.»

SECTION VI

باب (٦)

IT IS (PART) OF THE FAITH TO DESIRE FOR ONE'S BROTHER WHAT ONE DESIRETH FOR HIMSELF

من الايمان أن يحب لأخيه ما يحب لنفسه

(13) Musaddad related to us, saying: Yaḥyâ related to us, on the authority of Shu'bah, on the authority of Qatâdah, on the authority of Anas, on the authority of the Prophet; —and[35] on the authority of Ḥusain al-Mu'allim, who said: Qatâdah related to us, on the authority of Anas,

(١٣) حدثنا مسدد قال: حدثنا يحيى عن شعبة عن قتادة عن أنس [رض] عن النبي [ص]؛— وعن حسين المعلم قال: حدثنا قتادة عن أنس

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: "None of you hath faith until he desireth for his brother what he desireth for himself."

عن النبي [ص] قال: «لا يؤمن أحدكم حتى يحب لأخيه ما يحب لنفسه.»

SECTION VII

باب (٧)

LOVE OF THE APOSTLE IS (PART) OF THE FAITH

حب الرسول [ص] من الايمان

(14) Abû 'l-Yamân related to us, saying: Shu'aib told us, saying: Abû 'z-Zinâd related to us, on the authority of Al-A'raj, on the authority of Abû Hurairah:

(١٤) حدثنا أبو اليمان قال: أخبرنا شعيب قال: حدثنا أبو الزناد عن الأعرج عن أبي هريرة [رض]

THE Apostle of God said: "By Him in Whose hand is my soul! None of you

أن رسول الله [ص] قال: «فوالذي

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thus, the superlative used above does not exclude the possibility of other matters occupying the same rank in Islâm as the one which the Prophet, in this Tradition, described as "the most excellent": as is evident from Tr. 12, where the giving of food to the needy is described as the "the best" act of Islâm. As will often be seen in this work, similar is the case with expressions of deprecation.

35. This refers to the narrator Yaḥyâ who received this Tradition from two sources, namely, Shu'bah and Ḥusain al-Mu'allim.

hath faith until I am dearer unto him than his father and his child."[36]

نفسي بيده! لا يؤمن أحدكم حتى أكون أحب اليه من والده و ولده.»

(15) Ya'qûb ibn Ibrâhîm related to us, saying: Ibn 'Ulayyah related to us, on the authority of 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn Ṣuhaib, on the authority of Anas, on the authority of the Prophet;—also,[37] Âdam related to us, saying: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Qatâdah, on the authority of Anas, who said:

(١٠) حدثنا يعقوب بن ابراهيم قال: حدثنا ابن علية عن عبد العزيز بن صهيب عن أنس عن النبي [ص]: [ح] و حدثنا آدم قال: حدثنا شعبة عن قتادة عن أنس قال:

THE Prophet said: "None of you hath faith until I am dearer unto him than his father and his child and the whole mankind."[38]

قال النبي [ص]: «لا يؤمن أحدكم حتى أكون أحب اليه من والده وولده والناس أجمعين»

SECTION VIII

THE SWEETNESS OF THE FAITH

(٨) بـاب

حلاوة الايمان

(16) Muḥammad ibn al-Muthannâ related to us, saying: 'Abd al-Wahhâb ath-Thaqafî related to us, saying: Ayyûb related to us, on the authority of Abû Qilâbah, on the authority of Anas,

(١٦) حدثنا محمد بن المثنى قال: حدثنا عبد الوهاب الثقفي قال: حدثنا أيوب عن أبي قلابة عن أنس

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: "Whoso hath three things in him hath come upon the sweetness of faith[39]: that God and His Apostle be dearer unto him than aught beside them; that, when he loveth a man, he love him but for the sake of God; and that he loathe to return into Unbelief same as he loatheth to be thrown into fire."

عن النبي [ص] قال: «ثلاث من كن فيه وجد حلاوة الايمان: أن يكون الله ورسوله أحب اليه مما سواهما، وأن يحب المرء لا يحبه الا لله، وأن يكره أن يعود في الكفر كما يكره أن يقذف في النار.»

36. The love of the Prophet is but another word for the love of God. A Faithful cannot but assign to the Prophet the highest place in his estimation. As long as Muṣṭafâ was alive this love of Muslims was attached not only to his spiritual but also to his physical personality, and many Companions are known to have been ready to sacrifice their own life and that of their nearest relations in order to protect the Prophet's life. After his death there can be no more any question of preferring his life to that of others; but the regard for his memory, his character, his actions and his commandments is and for ever will remain a criterion of true faith. Our love for the living manifests itself in the desire to protect their life and their well-being; the love for the great among the dead is not fulfilled by mere exaltation of their memory in words and thoughts, but it consists, more than in anything else, in the sincere desire to live and to behave as they would have us behave. The true lover of the Prophet is not he who, while disregarding his commandments, prattles of love for the Beloved: it is he who obeys the Prophet's orders without regard for his own convenience, and obeys them with joy, because they come from Muṣṭafâ.

37. Al-Bukhârî received this Tradition from two sources. The letter ḥ in the Arabic text is an abbreviation of *taḥwîl* (transfer)—a technical term indicating the "transfer" of the same Tradition to another line of narrators.

38. *cf.* Tr. 13 and corresponding Note.

39. The "sweetness of the faith" is that element of faith which makes man realise with joy the increase of his own strength owing to his unreserved submission to God. If one throws away all considerations save his devotion to a cause which he regards as sacred, no difficulty can discourage and no setback can distress him.

SECTION IX

A SIGN OF THE FAITH IS THE LOVE OF THE ANṢÂR

(17) Abû 'l-Walîd related to us, saying: Shu'bah related to us, saying: 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Jabr told me, saying: I heard Anas [relate this Tradition],

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: "A sign of the faith is the love of the Anṣâr, and a sign of hypocrisy is the hatred of the Anṣâr."[40]

(٩) بـاب

علامة الايمان حب الأنصار

(١٧) حدثنا أبوالوليد قال: حدثنا شعبة قال: أخبرني عبدالله بن عبد الله بن جبر قال: سمعت أنساً

عن النبي [ص] قال: «آية الايمان حب الأنصار، وآية النفاق بغض الأنصار.»

SECTION X

(18) Abû 'l-Yamân related to us, saying: Shu'aib related to us, on the authority of Az-Zuhrî, who said: Abû Idrîs 'Â'idh Allâh ibn 'Abd Allâh told me:

'UBÂDAH ibn aṣ-Ṣâmit—who had been present at Badr[41] and had been one of the elders on the night of Al-'Aqabah[42]—[said]:

(١٠) بـاب

(١٨) حدثنا أبو اليمان قال: أخبرنا شعيب عن الزهري قال: أخبرني أبو ادريس عائذ الله ابن عبد الله

أن عبادة بن الصامت [رض] — وكان شهد بدراً وهو أحد النقباء ليلة العقبة —

40. *Al-anṣâr* (lit., the helpers) were the Muslims of Al-Madînah who received and wholeheartedly supported the Prophet and his Companions after their emigration from Mecca. Their selfless help came at a time when the fortunes of Muḥammad and his Companions were at the lowest ebb, and it proved a turning point in the history of Islâm.—The original motive for this saying of the Prophet was a friction between the *muhâjirûn* (Emigrants) and the *anṣâr* of Al-Madînah. Some of the *muhâjirûn* claimed a privileged status not only on the grounds of their earlier adherence to the Prophet, but also because they belonged to the same tribe and country as he; and they tried to impose this assumed superiority of theirs over the *anṣâr*. But as this was no less than a revival of the pre-Islâmic tribal or national instincts which already had been discountenanced by the Islâmic conception of *ummah*, that is, the brotherhood of people bound together by the same religious ideal, the Prophet most severely condemned this antagonism. The *muhâjirûn* were the provoking party: and so the Prophet impressed upon them that a true *muhâjir* is he who spiritually "emigrates" from the things forbidden by God (*cf.* Tr. 10 and the corresponding Note); and, therefore, the *anṣâr* had no less moral claim to this title than the actual emigrants from Mecca. He implicitely stated that the love of those who helped his cause when it was in danger is a sign of love for the cause itself; and the hatred of the helpers amounts to a hatred of the cause. Like many other sayings of the Prophet pronounced on special occasions, this one also has a general meaning relating to all those who help the cause of Islâm when it is in difficulties.

41. *i.e.*, the battle of Badr in the year 2 H., which ended in the first decisive victory of the Muslims over the heathen Quraish.

42. This refers to one of the most momentuous events in the life of the Prophet and, consequently, in the history of Islâm. Al-'Aqabah is a place in Minâ (near Mecca) where pilgrims coming down from 'Arafah spend the three days of *'îd al-adhḥâ;* even in pre-Islâmic times this was a custom of the heathen Arabs who had preserved the ancient ceremonies of the pilgrimage. There the Prophet used to approach members of different tribes, who had come for pilgrimage, to support him in his mission. But all his endeavours in this direction failed, until he met some men of the tribes Aws and Khazraj of Yathrib (as Al-Madînah then was called) who accepted Islâm at his hands. Here are the names of those first pioneers of Islâm outside Mecca: Abû Umâmah As'ad ibn Zurârah, 'Awf ibn al-Ḥârith, Râfi' ibn Mâlik, 'Âmir ibn 'Abd Ḥârithah, Quṭbah ibn 'Âmir, 'Uqbah ibn 'Âmir and Jâbir ibn 'Abd Allâh. Their subsequent accounts, at Yathrib, of the Prophet and his teachings were so glowing that the people of Aws and Khazraj, awakened to interest, sent during the next season of pilgrimage twelve men to see the Prophet on their behalf. They met him at Al-'Aqabah in the year 2 B.H., and went back to Yathrib fully convinced of the truth of Islâm. The Prophet sent Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umair with them to teach them the Qur'ân; and after the lapse of one year there hardly was a house left in Yathrib without one or more of its inhabitants, men and women, converted to Islâm. In the next year, on the night of the 11th of Dhû'l-Ḥijjah, 1 B.H., the Prophet was met at the same place again by a second deputation from Yathrib—this time seventy men and

The Apostle of God, surrounded by a group[43] of his Companions, said: "Pledge unto me that ye will associate naught with God, and will not steal, and will not commit adultery, and will not kill your children,[44] and will not utter slander invented by yourselves,[45] and will not rebel against [the rules of] right conduct.[46] And whoso of you fulfilleth [this pledge], his reward [resteth] upon God. And whoso committeth aught of these [sins] and then is punished in this world, this [punishment] be his atonement[47]; and whoso committeth aught of these, and thereafter God, the Most High, covereth him,[48] he be [left] unto God: if He willeth He shall forgive him, and if He willeth He shall punish him."—And we thus pledged unto him.[49]

أن رسول الله [ص] قال — وحوله عصابة من أصحابه —: «بايعونى على أن لا تشركوا بالله شيأً ولا تسرقوا ولا تزنوا ولا تقتلوا أولادكم ولا تأتوا ببهتان تفترونه بين أيديكم وأرجلكم ولا تعصوا فى معروف. فمن وفى منكم فأجره على الله؛ ومن أصاب من ذلك شيأً فعوقب فى الدنيا فهو كفارة له؛ ومن أصاب من ذلك شيأً ثم ستره الله فهو الى الله، ان شاء عفا عنه وان شاء عاقبه.» — فبايعناه على ذلك.

two women. 'Abbâs ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's uncle, accepted Islâm that very night. He afterwards addressed the men of Aws and Khazraj and explained to them the difficulties they would have to encounter if they undertook to protect the Prophet and his religion from the persecutions of the Quraish; but they solemnly promised to help the cause of Islâm and to defend it with their lives: thence the appellation *anṣar* (helpers) by which the early Muslims of Al-Madînah came to be known in history. Then the Prophet selected twelve men from among them and appointed them as elders over the new Muslim community of Yathrib. One of them was 'Ubâdah ibn aṣ-Ṣâmit, the narrator of Tr. 17; he had been a member of the first and second deputations at Al-'Aqabah.

In consequence, the Quraish doubled their efforts to crush Muḥammad and his followers. When the persecutions reached their climax, the Prophet ordered all his Companions to emigrate to Yathrib. He waited until they departed, and then left Mecca, accompanied by Abû Bakr and 'Alî, and reached Yathrib on the 12th of Rabî' al-awwal, 1 H.

43. *'Iṣâbah*, here translated as "group," denotes a company of 10—40 persons.

44. Allusion to the barbarous custom of the pre-Islâmic Arabs who used to kill those of their new-born daughters which were regarded as superfluous.

45. Literally: "which you make up between your hands and feet."

46. *Al-ma'rûf*, here translated as "right conduct," literally means "that which is known"—that is, *known as good*. It implies the sum total of all rules of conduct laid down by God and His Prophet. Thus the Prophet, after having emphatically pointed out the sins of which the heathen Arabs were particularly guilty, concluded his appeal with the demand that they should follow all Islâmic injunctions in general.

The vow thus formulated was the one which Muḥammad demanded, on the occasion of the first deputation to Al-'Aqabah, from the men of Yathrib. It has since been known as "the vow of women" (*bai'at an-nisâ'*) because the Prophet was ordered in the Qur'ân (lx, 12) to accept such a vow from Muslim women.

47. The punishment which *sharî'ah* imposes on different crimes and transgressions is an atonement not only for this world but also for the next, because God does not punish man twice for the same thing.

48. *i.e.*, if his guilt is not discovered.

49. The term *bai'ah* ("vow" or "pledge") plays a very prominent part in Islâm. It generally denotes a solemn pledge of allegiance given to a leader by his followers and binding them to absolute obedience. After having pledged oneself in such a way a Muslim cannot be released from the obligations resulting thereof except in three cases: if the person to whom the pledge was made dies, or relinquishes his leadership, or orders his followers to do things forbidden by the *sharî'ah* or to cease doing things ordered by the *sharî'ah*. According to the Islâmic Law, it is a duty of Muslims, whenever they organise themselves, to elect a leader and to take a vow of allegiance. Thus, *bai'ah* is a cardinal point in the Islâmic conception of authority and a *conditio sine qua non* of the social and political collaboration of Muslims, and, consequently, the basis of the Islâmic State Constitution. (*Note continued on next page.*)

SECTION XI

THE FLIGHT FROM SEDUCTIONS[50] IS (AN ACT) OF RELIGION

(19) 'Abd Allâh ibn Maslamah related to us, on the authority of Mâlik, on the authority of 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn abî Ṣa'ṣa'ah, on the authority of his father,[51] on the authority of Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî, who said:

THE Apostle of God said: "Ere long the best property of a Muslim will be small cattle; he will go with it unto the summits of mountains and unto places where rain descendeth, that he might fly with his religion from seductions."[52]

(١١) بـاب

من الدين الفرار من الفتن

(١٩) حدثنا عبدالله بن مسلمة عن مالك عن عبدالرحمن بن عبدالله بن عبد الرحمن بن أبى صعصعة عن أبيه عن أبى سعيد الخدرى أنه قال:

قال رسول الله [ص]: «يوشك أن يكون خير مال المسلم غنماً يتبع بها شعف الجبال ومواقع القطر يفر بدينه من الفتن.»

SECTION XII

THE SAYING OF THE PROPHET: "I KNOW MORE ABOUT GOD THAN ANY OF YOU."

And, behold, knowledge is an action of the heart, according to the Word of God, the Most High: "... but He will take you to task for that which your hearts have earned."[53]

(20) Muḥammad ibn Salâm al-Bîkandî related to us, saying: 'Abdah told us, on the authority of Hishâm, on the authority of his father,[54] on the authority of 'Â'ishah, who said:

WHENEVER the Apostle of God bade them[55] [anything] he bade them [to perform] actions according to their capacity.[56]

(١٢) بـاب

قول النبي [ص]: «أنا أعلمكم بالله.»

وأن المعرفة فعل القلب لقول الله تعالى: «... ولكن يؤاخذكم بما كسبت قلوبكم.»

(٢٠) حدثنا محمد بن سلام البيكندى قال: أخبرنا عبدة عن هشام عن أبيه عن عائشة قالت:

كان رسول الله [ص] اذا أمرهم أمرهم من الأعمال بما يطيقون؛ قالوا: «إنا لسنا

Sometimes, however, this term is merely used in its primary meaning of a solemn promise only morally binding on those who make it, as in the case of the vow demanded by the Prophet at Al-'Aqabah. Later on, at Al-Madînah, when the Muslim community developed into an independent political unit, *bai'ah* assumed its full practical as well as moral meaning; since then it stands as a symbol of allegiance to a Muslim authority.

50. The term *fitnah* applies to everything which leads man astray from the right path: in the first instance, to depravities and corruptions of every kind; in the second, to persecutions, because they may force man to forsake his religious and social duties; and, ultimately, to such things as in themselves are not wrong, but may, by virtue of man's extreme attachment to them, cause a deviation from the right path (*cf.* Q. lxiv, 14/15).

51. 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Abd Allâh.

52. At the time prophesied in the above Tradition the religious corruption will be so great that it will be difficult for a Muslim to remain immersed in the affairs of the world and at the same time to live a righteous life. Then the only solution, for a religiously minded man, will be complete retirement from public life. The picture of a shepherd's life is not to be taken literally, but as a symbol of such retirement.

53. Q. ii, 225.—"... that which your hearts have earned" refers to the recognition of God's Oneness and the intention of submission to His commandments.

54. 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair.

55. *i.e.*, his Companions. Whenever, in Traditions, the pronoun "they" is used without any direct hint as to who are the persons thus alluded to, the Companions of the Prophet are meant.

56. Islâm is not an ascetic religion. It does not compel man to do things which are above his strength, nor to renounce things towards which his natural instincts drive him.

[Once] they said: "Behold, we are not like unto thee, o Apostle of God; behold, God hath forgiven thee of thy sin that which is past and that which is to come."[57] Then he grew wrathful till the wrath was visible on his face; thereupon he said: "Behold, I am he who feareth God more than any of you and knoweth more about God than any of you!"[58]

كهيئتك يا رسول الله! ان الله قد غفر لك ما تقدم من ذنبك و ما تأخر.» فيغضب حتى يعرف الغضب فى وجهه، ثم يقول: «ان أتقاكم وأعلمكم بالله أنا!»

SECTION XIII

(١٣) بـاب

IT IS [A SIGN] OF FAITH THAT ONE LOATHE TO RETURN INTO UNBELIEF SAME AS HE LOATHETH TO BE THROWN INTO FIRE

من كره أن يعود فى الكفر كما يكره أن يلقى فى النار من الايمان

(21) Sulaimân ibn Ḥarb related to us, saying: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Qatâdah, on the authority of Anas,

(٢١) حدثنا سليمان بن حرب قال: حدثنا شعبة عن قتادة عن أنس [رض]

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: "Whoso hath three things in him hath come upon the sweetness of faith: he unto whom God and His Apostle are dearer than aught beside them; and loveth man but for the sake of God; and loatheth to return into Unbelief, after God hath saved him, same as he loatheth to be thrown into fire."[59]

عن النبى [ص] قال: «ثلاث من كن فيه وجد حلاوة الايمان: من كان الله ورسوله أحب اليه مما سواهما، ومن أحب عبداً لا يحبه الا لله، ومن يكره أن يعود فى الكفر بعد اذ أنقذه الله كما يكره أن يلقى فى النار.»

SECTION XIV

(١٤) بـاب

[CONCERNING] DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THE FAITHFUL WITH REGARD TO ACTIONS

تفاضل أهل الايمان فى الأعمال

(22) Ismâ'îl related to us, saying: Mâlik related to me, on the authority of 'Amr ibn Yaḥyâ al-Mâzinî, on the authority of his father,[60]

(٢٢) حدثنا اسمعيل قال: حدثنى مالك عن عمرو

57. Allusion to Q. xlviii, 2. The Companions thought that, in order to attain salvation, they should do more by way of devotions and other duties than the Prophet, because he was promised immunity by God, and what was enough for him was, perhaps, not enough for them. That they were mistaken in this assumption is shown in the Prophet's answer.

58. "Fear of God" (one of the several meanings of *taqwâ*) bears on the creative aspect of faith, because it compels man to do certain things and to abstain from others. It is not possible to fear God without knowing about Him and His attributes; and so the Prophet, who knew more about God than any other man, feared God more than any other man. Thus he indicated that he could not be supposed, only because God had granted him this privilege, to demand less of himself than of the other Muslims. On the contrary, the devotion and the actions required of him were heavier than those required of other men. The privilege of unconditional pardon for his sins refers to mistakes which he might have committed or would commit in future, and not to an intentional omission of duties imposed on all the Faithful. It is absurd to deny to the Prophet the possibility of committing mistakes, as some of the Muslim theologians do. Erring is human, and none is above error except God. But the mistakes of the Prophet were always, and immediately, corrected by Divine Revelation: and this is the difference between the Prophets and other mortals.

59. *cf.* Tradition 16. True to his system of placing Traditions according to the subject he has on hand, Al-Bukhârî quotes the same saying (with a different *isnâd*) again, this time as an emphasis on the *negative* element in faith, that is, loathing of Unbelief, while in Tr. 16 the sweetness of faith was emphasised.

60. Yaḥyâ ibn 'Umârah—or, according to An-Nawawî, ibn 'Uthmân—al-Mâzinî ('UQ i, 197).

on the authority of Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî.

ابن يحيى المازنى عن أبيه عن أبى سعيد الخدرى

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: "Those of the Paradise will enter the Paradise, and those of the Fire the Fire[61]; then God, the Most High, will say: 'Take out [from the Fire] in whose heart there was as much of faith as a grain of mustard seed!' Then they will be taken out of it, already scorched; and will be thrown into the River of Rain, or of Life,"

عن النبي [ص] قال: «يدخل أهل الجنة الجنة وأهل النار النار، ثم يقول الله تعالى: «أخرجوا من كان فى قلبه مثقال حبة من خردل من ايمان!» فيخرجون منها قد اسودوا، فيلقون فى نهر الحيا أو الحياة»

—Mâlik[62] was doubtful [about this word][63]—

—شك مالك—

"then they will grow[64] as the herb groweth along the river-bed; didst thou not see that it cometh out yellow and folded?"[65]

«فينبتون كما تنبت الحبة فى جانب السيل؛ ألم تر أنها تخرج صفراء ملتوية؟»

Wuhaib[66] said: 'Amr related to us, "of Life"[67] and he said: "mustard seed of good."[68]

قال وهيب: حدثنا عمرو: «الحياة» وقال: «خردل من خير»

(23) Muḥammad ibn 'Ubaid Allâh related to us: Ibrâhîm ibn Sa'd related to us, on the authority of Ṣâliḥ, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, on the authority of Abû Umâmah ibn Sahl, who heard Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî say:

(٢٣) حدثنا محمد بن عبيد الله: حدثنا ابراهيم بن سعد عن صالح عن ابن شهاب عن أبى أمامة ابن سهل أنه سمع أبا سعيد الخدرى يقول:

THE Apostle of God said: "Whilst I slept I saw people passing before me, and they wore shirts, some of which reached the breast, and some were even less. And there passed before me 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb, and he wore a trailing shirt."—They said: "And how didst thou interpret this, o Apostle of God?"—He said: "[As] religion."[69]

قال رسول الله [ص]: «بينا أنا نائم رأيت الناس يعرضون علىّ وعليهم قمص، منها ما يبلغ الثدى ومنها ما دون ذلك؛ وعرض علىّ عمر بن الخطاب وعليه قميص يجره.» — قالوا: «فما أولت ذلك يا رسول الله؟» — قال: «الدين.»

61. "*Those of the Paradise*": that is, those who deserve Paradise owing to the righteous actions they performed during their life in this world; and, correspondingly, "*those of the Fire*" are the wrongdoers.

62. *cf.* the *isnâd* of this Tradition.

63. The word *ḥayâ* (rain) and *ḥayâh* (life) are almost identical in sound; thence the uncertainty on the part of the narrator. All authorities among the Traditionists agree that *ḥayâh* is the right word; they are supported in this view by the appendix attached by Al-Bukhârî to this Tradition. But even if the Prophet had said *ḥayâ* (rain) the meaning would remain the same. For the Arabs living in a hot, dry country rainfall is practically synonymous with life. Up to this day the Bedouins of Arabia sometimes employ the word *ḥayâ* as signifying "life."

64. *i.e.*, revive.

65. *i.e.*, tender and of light colour—thus indicating the freshness of new life in the pardoned sinner.

66. He was not a contemporary of Al-Bukhârî; the medium between him and the latter was Mûsâ ibn Ismâ'îl (*FB* i, 55).

67. Thus correcting the doubt of the narrator Mâlik.

68. Instead "of faith."

69. *i.e.*, ardour of submission to religious commandments. As has been remarked in II, 21, it is faith which prompts

SECTION XV

SHAME IS [PART] OF THE FAITH

(24) 'Abd Allâh ibn Yûsuf related to us: Mâlik told us, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, on the authority of Sâlim ibn 'Abd Allâh, on the authority of his father[70]:

THE Apostle of God passed by a man of the Anṣâr exhorting his brother in the matter of shame; and the Apostle of God said: "Leave it! For, behold, shame is [part] of the faith."[71]

(١٥) بـاب

الحياء من الايمان

(٢٤) حدثنا عبد الله بن يوسف: أخبرنا مالك عن ابن شهاب عن سالم بن عبد الله عن أبيه

أن رسول الله [ص] مر على رجل من الانصار وهو يعظ أخاه في الحياء؛ فقال رسول الله [ص]: «دعه! فان الحياء من الايمان.»

SECTION XVI

"AND IF THEY REPENT AND OBSERVE PRAYER AND PAY THE SACRED TAX, THEN LEAVE THEIR WAY FREE"[72]

(25) 'Abd Allâh ibn Muḥammad related to us, saying: Abû Rawḥ al-Ḥaramî ibn 'Umârah related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Wâqid ibn Muḥammad, who said: I heard my father[73] relate, on the authority of Ibn 'Umar:

THE Apostle of God said: "I have been bidden to fight people until they bear witness that there is no deity but God and that Muḥammad is the Apostle of God, and observe prayer and pay the sacred tax.[74] Then, if they do so, they will save from me their blood and their possessions, except [what they might forfeit] within the bounds of Islâm; and their reckoning is with God."[75]

(١٦) بـاب

فان تابوا وأقاموا الصلاة وآتوا الزكاة فخلوا سبيلهم

(٢٥) حدثنا عبد الله بن محمد قال: حدثنا أبو روح الحرمي بن عمارة: حدثنا شعبة عن واقد بن محمد قال: سمعت أبي يحدث عن ابن عمر

أن رسول الله [ص] قال: «أمرت أن أقاتل الناس حتى يشهدوا أن لا اله الا الله و أن محمداً رسول الله ويقيموا الصلاة ويؤتوا الزكاة؛ فاذا فعلوا ذلك عصموا مني دماءهم وأموالهم الا بحق الاسلام، وحسابهم على الله.»

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man to submit to the Divine Commandments, and, therefore, the word of the Prophet referres to the force of faith as well as to the right actions prompted by it: this is Al-Bukhârî's justification for placing this Tradition under the heading of Section xiv. The allusion to 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb implies that his religious ardour was greater than that of the other men whom the Prophet saw in his dream.

70. 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb.

71. Obviously, the brother had done or intended to do something wrong; and the Prophet meant to say: "Leave this talk about shame, and talk to him about faith instead; if his faith were perfect he would know how to behave."

72. Q. ix. 5.

73. Muḥammad ibn Zaid ibn 'Abd Allâh.

74. This Tradition is an explanation of the Qur'ân verse quoted by the author as the heading of this Section. And as it is stated in other verses of the Qur'ân that, besides the acceptance of Islâm or fight, there is another alternative for Unbelievers engaged in hostilities with Muslims, namely, the acceptance of the the temporal rule of the *sharî'ah* and the payment of *jizyah*, so also the Prophet stated this alternative in other Traditions which later will be quoted. Neither the verses of the Qur'ân nor Traditions can be interpreted individually, but must be taken in conjunction with other Qur'ân-verses or Traditions.

75. That is, if they accept Islâm they are no more liable to punishment for their earlier misdeeds; but if after that they commit crimes they will be punished, like every other Muslim, under the law of *sharî'ah*. And it is upon God alone to decide whether their acceptance of Islâm was sincere or directed by fear or worldly motives.

SECTION XVII

(CONCERNING) THOSE WHO SAY THAT FAITH IS ACTION

—according to the Word of God, the Most High: "This is the Paradise which ye will inherit for that which ye used to do."[76] —And several learned men[77] said, concerning the Word of the Most High: "Then, by God, we shall question them about what they used to do"[78]—[that is], about the saying: "There is no deity but God."[79]—And the Word of the Most High: "For the like of this, then, let the workers work."[80]

(١٧) بـــاب

من قال ان الايمان هو العمل

— لقول الله تعالى، «وتلك الجنة التى أورثتموها بما كنتم تعملون.» — وقال عدة من أهل العلم فى قوله تعالى، «فوربك لنسألنهم أجمعين عما كانوا يعملون» — عن قول، «لا اله الا الله.» — وقوله تعالى، «لمثل هذا فليعمل العاملون.»

(26) Aḥmad ibn Yûnus and Mûsâ ibn Ismâ'îl related to us, saying: Ibrâhîm ibn Sa'd related to us: Ibn Shihâb related to us, on the authority of Sa'îd ibn al-Musayyab, on the authority of Abû Hurairah:

(٢٦) حدثنا أحمد بن يونس وموسى بن اسمعيل قالا: حدثنا ابراهيم بن سعد: حدثنا ابن شهاب عن سعيد بن المسيب عن أبى هريرة

THE Apostle of God was asked[81]: "Which action is the most excellent?"—He said: "Faith in God and His Apostle."—[The man] said: "[And] after that, what?" —He said: "Jihâd[82] in the way of God."—[The man] said: "[And] after that, what?" —He said: "A pious pilgrimage to Mecca."

أن رسول الله [ص] سئل: «أىّ العمل أفضل؟» — قال: «ايمان بالله ورسوله.» — قيل: «ثم ماذا؟» — قال: «الجهاد فى سبيل الله.» — قيل: «ثم ماذا؟» — قال: «حج مبرور.»

SECTION XVIII

IF (THE ACCEPTANCE OF) ISLÂM IS NOT SINCERE, BUT DUE TO OUTWARD SUBMISSION AND FEAR OF FIGHT

—[then it is of the kind mentioned] in the Word of the Most High: "The nomad Arabs said: 'We have faith!'—Say [unto them]: 'Ye have no faith, but say, We submit.'"[83]

And if it is sincere, then it is according to His Word—glorified be His name—: "Behold, the religion with God is

(١٨) بـــاب

اذا لم يكن الاسلام على الحقيقة وكان على الاستسلام أو الخوف من القتل

— لقوله تعالى، «قالت الأعراب، آمنا! — قل، لم تؤمنوا ولكن قولوا، أسلمنا.»

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76. Q. xliii, 72.—Throughout the Qur'ân faith is said to be the condition for entrance into Paradise; and here Paradise is said to be the reward for actions. Therefore it is only logical to say that faith, in itself, is action.

77. The Companions Anas ibn Mâlik and 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr, and the *tâbi'* Mujâhid ibn Jabr (*FB* i, 59).

78. Q. xv, 92/93.

79. In the opinion of those learned men (see II, 77) the question on the Day of Judgment "what they used to do" refers to man's faith in the Oneness of God; thus, again, faith is regarded as action.

80. *Q.* xxxvii, 61.—*cf.* II, 76.

81. The man who asked was the Companion Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî (*FB* i, 59).

82. A full explanation of the term *jihâd* and of the obligations, for a Muslim, arising out of it will be found in *The Book of Jihâd*. Here it may suffice to say that *jihâd* generally means a war undertaken in the cause of Islâm, and sometimes also a moral or material endeavour, other than war, for the sake of God.

83. *Q.* xlix, 14.—The word *aslamnâ* is here to be taken in its formal sense only, as denoting the action of outward surrender to the laws of Islâm, so far as the human society is concerned. For the relation between the terms *islâm* and *îmân*, see II, 23.

Islâm."[84]—"And whoso seeketh as religion other than Islâm, it will not be accepted from him."[85]

(27) Abû 'l-Yamân related to us, saying: Shu'aib told us, on the authority of Az-Zuhrî, who said: 'Âmir ibn Sa'd ibn abî Waqqâṣ told me,

ON the authority of Sa'd: The Apostle of God bestowed gifts on a group of men[86] whilst I, Sa'd, was sitting [with him]; and the Apostle of God omitted a man who appeared unto me the best of them.[87] Then I said: "O Apostle of God! What is thy objection against such and such? For, by God, I regard him as a Faithful."—Then he said: "Or a Muslim . . ."[88] Then I remained silent for a while; thereafter, what I knew of him overwhelmed me, and I repeated my saying and said: "What is thy objection against such and such? For, by God, I regard him as a Faithful."—Then he said: "Or a Muslim . . ." Then I remained silent for a while; thereafter, what I knew of him overwhelmed me, and I repeated my saying, and the Apostle of God repeated [his]. Thereafter he said: "O Sa'd! Behold, I bestow a gift upon a man—whilst another is dearer unto me than he—for fear that God might precipitate him into the Fire."[89]

فاذا كان على الحقيقة فهو على قوله جل ذكره، «ان الدين عند الله الاسلام» — «ومن يبتغ غير الاسلام ديناً فلن يقبل منه»

(۲۷) حدثنا أبو اليمان قال: أخبرنا شعيب عن الزهرى قال: أخبرنى عامر بن سعد بن أبى وقاص

عن سعد [ض] أن رسول الله [ص] أعطى رهطاً وسعد جالس، فترك رسول الله [ص] رجلاً هو أعجبهم الىّ، فقلت: «يا رسول الله! ما لك عن فلان؟ فوالله انى لأراه مؤمناً.» — فقال: «أو مسلماً...» فسكت قليلاً، ثم غلبنى ما أعلم منه فعدت لمقالتى فقلت: «ما لك عن فلان؟ فوالله انى لأراه مؤمناً.» — فقال: «أو مسلماً...» فسكت قليلاً، ثم غلبنى ما أعلم منه فعدت لمقالتى وعاد رسول الله [ص]. ثم قال: «يا سعد! انى لأعطى الرجل — وغيره أحب الىّ منه — خشية أن يكبه الله فى النار.»

84. *Q.* iii, 19.

85. *Q.* iii, 85. This verse contradicts the idea, prevalent in our days among some Muslims, that the choice of religion is a matter of individual preference, and that every unitarian religion is equally good in the sight of God, provided man lives a righteous life. The Qur'ân says: "Whoso seeketh as religion other than Islâm, it will not be accepted from him,"—that is, the path of Islâm is the only right path. God in His infinite clemency will certainly take into account the good deeds performed by people of other creeds, but this does not mean that those creeds as such are regarded as equal to Islâm. Salvation, according to the tenets of Islâm, can be obtained only by him who recognises the Oneness of God and the Prophethood of Muḥammad (which implies the recognition of the former Prophets) and does good works. The recognition of Muḥammad's Prophethood is by no means a theoretical matter. You cannot say: "I believe that this man is a Prophet"—and at the same time claim that the commandments he issued and upon the fulfillment of which he insisted are not universally binding. Muḥammad himself regarded his mission as world-wide and directed his injunctions to mankind at large. He had not been sent to a particular community: it is nothing but the acceptance of his guidance which binds men together into the community of Muslims. To say that Muḥammad *is* a Prophet, but that his commandments are binding on Muslims only, is a contradiction in itself; for to deny the universal obligation of following him is to question his truthfulness and, consequently, his Prophethood.

86. The word *rahṭ* used in the Arabic text denotes a group of no less than three and no more than ten men.

87. His name was Ju'ail ibn Surâqah aḍ-Ḍamrî; he was one of the *muhâjirûn* (*FB* i, 60).

88. The Prophet meant to say that none can with certainty know whether another person is really a Faithful or merely a Muslim in the formal sense (*cf.* II, 23); this knowledge is with God alone. Sa'd ibn abî Waqqâṣ, the narrator of the above Tradition, thought that the Prophet distrusted the man in question; but it is apparent from the last sentence of this Tradition that the Prophet himself had no misgivings as to the faith of that man; he simply denied himself and his followers the right to pronounce a final judgment in a matter in which God alone can discern the truth.

89. The people to whom the Prophet distributed gifts probably were newly converted Bedouins. He did not feel

Also, Yûnus, Ṣâliḥ, Ma'mar and the son of Az-Zuhrî's brother[90] narrated this [Tradition], on the authority of Az-Zuhrî.

ورواه يونس وصالح ومعمر وابن أخى الزهرى عن الزهرى☆

SECTION XIX

(١٩) بـاب

THE GREETING IS (AN ACT) OF ISLÂM

السلام من الاسلام

And 'Ammâr said: "He who combineth three things hath combined the faith [in himself]: justice out of thy free will, the offering of greeting unto everyone, and the spending [on others] whilst [thou art thyself] poor."

وقال عمار: «ثلاث من جمعهن فقد جمع الايمان: الانصاف من نفسك وبذل السلام للعالم والانفاق من الاقتار»

(28) Qutaibah related to us, saying: Al-Laith related to us, on the authority of Yazîd ibn abî Ḥabîb, on the authority of Abû 'l-Khair, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr.

(٢٨) حدثنا قتيبة قال: حدثنا الليث عن يزيد بن أبى حبيب عن أبى الخير عن عبد الله ابن عمرو.

NOTE.—*The Traditio nbelonging to the above isnâd is in every detail dentical with Tr. 12 and has been, therefore, omitted here.*

SECTION XX

(٢٠) بـاب

INGRATITUDE[91] TOWARD THE MATE

كفران العشير

—and there are different degrees of *kufr*[92]; regarding this there exists [a Tradition] on the authority of Abû Sa'îd, on the authority of the Prophet.[93]

—وكفر دون كفر، فيه عن أبى سعيد عن النبى [ص]

(29) 'Abd Allâh ibn Maslamah related to us, on the authority of Mâlik, on the authority of Zaid ibn Aslam, on the authority of 'Aṭâ' ibn Yasâr, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs, who said:

(٢٩) حدثنا عبد الله بن مسلمة عن مالك عن زيد ابن أسلم عن عطاء بن يسار عن ابن عباس قال:

THE Prophet said: "I was shewn the Fire: and most of its inmates were women who had been ungrateful."—Someone said: "Had they been ungrateful toward God?"—He said: "They had been ungrateful toward the mate and ungrateful with regard to favour [received]: if thou always hast shewn favour unto one of them, [and] thereafter she seeth aught of thee [which

قال النبى [ص]: «أريت النار: فاذا أكثر أهلها النساء يكفرن.»—قيل: «أيكفرن بالله؟»—قال: «يكفرن العشير ويكفرن الاحسان؛ لو أحسنت الى احداهن الدهر ثم رأت منك شيأ قالت: ما رأيت منك

certain as to their firm adherence to the new faith and was afraid they might, if they did not receive any gifts (which obviously were few), leave the fold of Islâm and, in consequence, be punished by God. With regard to his Companion Ju'ail he had no such fears.

90. Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Muslim.

91. The word in the Arabic text, *kufrân* (from *kufr*) literally means "covering up" or "denial"; in its well-known theological sense it denotes the refusal to admit truth, *i.e.*, unbelief. *Kufrân* with regard to favours received (which is the subject of the subsequent Tradition) is, therefore, synonymous with "ingratitude."

92. Literally: "*kufr* less than *kufr*." Here this word has been left without translation, because the object of the author is to show that not every kind of *kufr* is identical with a denial of God, or Unbelief. It is evident from the preceding Note that this term can be applied to other "negations" as well, and does not necessarily mean that a person who commits any of them ceases to be a Believer.

93. This Tradition is quoted in *The Book of Menstruation* of this work.

displeaseth her], she saith: 'I never experienced any goodness from thee!'"[94]

خيراً قط.»

SECTION XXI

SINS ARE [A RELIC] OF THE TIME OF IGNORANCE[95]

(٢١) بـاب

المعاصي من أمر الجاهلية

—and none can be called an Unbeliever for committing aught of them, except for ascribing partners [unto God][96]—according to the saying of the Prophet: "Behold, thou hast something of the Time of Ignorance in thee"[97];—and the Word of God, the Most High: "Behold, God forgiveth not that a partner be ascribed unto Him, and forgiveth [all] beyond that unto whom He will."[98]

—ولا يكفر صاحبها بارتكابها الا بالشرك لقول النبي [ص]: «انك امرؤ فيك جاهلية» —وقول الله تعالى: «ان الله لا يغفر أن يشرك به ويغفر ما دون ذلك لمن يشاء»

(30) Sulaimân ibn Ḥarb related to us, saying: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Wâṣil,

(٣٠) حدثنا سليمان بن حرب قال: حدثنا شعبة عن واصل

ON the authority of Al-Ma'rûr, who said: I met Abû Dharr at Ar-Rabadhah,[99] and he wore a double garment,[100] and his slave [also] wore a double garment; and I asked him about this.[101] Then he said: "Behold, I had abused a man[102] and offended him on the subject of his mother. Then the Prophet said unto me: 'O Abû Dharr! Didst thou offend him on the subject of his mother? Behold, thou hast something of the Time of Ignorance in thee.[103] They are your brethren,

عن المعرور قال: لقيت أبا ذر بالربذة وعليه حلة وعلى غلامه حلة؛ فسألته عن ذلك فقال: «اني سابيت رجلاً فعيرته بأمه؛ فقال لي النبي [ص]: «يا أبا ذر! أعيرته بأمه؛ انك امرؤ فيك جاهلية. اخوانكم خولكم، جعلهم الله تحت

94. The last sentence of this Tradition does not, of course, apply to all women; it only shows an unfortunate tendency prevalent in many women, and implies a warning to these.

95. See I, 19.

96. This is a refutation of the preposterous attitude of many *'ulamâ* in the past and the present who—like the *Khârijîyah* of yore—are only too ready to apply the designation of Unbeliever (*kâfir*) to anyone who, while believing in God and His Prophet Muḥammad, in practice disobeys this or that of God's or the Prophet's commandments. In reality, such people can only be called *'âṣî* ("disobedient"), while a *kâfir* (in the accepted theological sense) is only he who denies God or His Prophet or the Revealed Book.

97. See subsequent Tradition.

98. Q. iv, 48.

99. A place about three stages from Al-Madînah, on the way to Al-'Irâq.

100. The Arabic word *ḥullah* denotes a garment, generally new, consisting of two pieces of the same material: a loin-cloth (*izâr*) reaching to above the ankles and a loose wrap (*ridâ'*) worn over the shoulders. This was the dress of the Arabs at the time of the Prophet; it still is worn in Al-Yaman and Al-Ḥaḍramawt.

101. Al-Ma'rûr was astonished to see Abû Dharr's slave wearing the same clothes as his master.

102. In another version of the same Tradition, quoted by Muslim, the words "of my brethren" (*i.e.*, brethren in faith) are added. The Traditionist Walîd-ibn Muslim says (according to *FB* i, 65) that the man in question was Bilâl, the *mu'addhin* of the Prophet; Abû Dharr, in his previous haughtiness, abused him because he thought himself better than a former slave.

103. Allusion to the harsh treatment of slaves in pre-Islâmic times.

these servants of yours whom God hath placed under your authority. And whoso hath his brother under his authority shall give him to eat of what he eateth himself, and shall clothe him with what he clotheth himself. And burden them with naught which is above their strength; and if ye burden them, then help them.' "[104]

أيديكم؛ فمن كان أخوه تحت يده فليطعمه مما يأكل وليلبسه مما يلبس، ولا تكلفوهم ما يغلبهم، فان كلفتموهم فأعينوهم.»

SECTION XXII

"AND IF TWO GROUPS OF THE FAITHFUL FALL TO FIGHTING, THEN MAKE PEACE BETWEEN THEM"[105]

—and He called them "the Faithful."[106]

(٢٢) بـاب

«وان طائفتان من المؤمنين اقتتلوا فأصلحوا بينهما»

—فسماهم «المؤمنين.»

(31) 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn Mubârak related to us: Ḥammâd ibn Zaid related to us: Ayyûb and Yûnus related to us, on the authority of Al-Ḥasan,

(٣١) حدثنا عبدالرحمن بن المبارك: حدثنا حماد بن زيد: حدثنا أيوب ويونس عن الحسن

ON the authority of Al-Aḥnaf ibn Qais, who said: I went to the succour of that man[107]; and Abû Bakrah met me and said: "Where dost thou go?"—I said: "To the succour of that man."—He said: "Go back! For, behold, I heard the Apostle of God say: 'If two Muslims meet with their swords, then the slayer and the slayed [will go] into the Fire.'—Then I said: 'O Apostle of God! This [may be the case with] the slayer; but what about the slayed?'—He said: 'Behold, he was bent upon slaying his companion.'"[108]

عن الأحنف بن قيس قال: ذهبت لأنصر هذا الرجل فلقيني أبوبكرة فقال: «أين تريد؟» —قلت: «أنصر هذا الرجل.» —قال: «ارجع! فاني سمعت رسول الله [ص] يقول: «اذا التقى المسلمان بسيفيهما فالقاتل والمقتول فى النار.» —فقلت: «يا رسول الله! هذا القاتل، فما بال المقتول؟» —قال: «انه كان حريصاً على قتل صاحبه.»

104. The social justice of Islâm demands that those in authority treat their subordinates (slaves, servants, employees) as human beings with the same human rights as they enjoy themselves. The social distinction of men, necessary in every organised society, is based on the difference of the duties they have to perform, and not on a difference with regard to their human status. Abû Dharr, thus reprimanded by the Prophet, at once took the lesson and dressed his own slave in the same clothes he himself used to wear.

105. Q. xlix, 9.

106. This is Al-Bukhârî's argument against the *Khârijîyah* and the *Mu'tazilah* (a school of thought which flourished some time during the 'Abbâside Caliphate). The *Mu'tazilah* declared that one who commits great sins (*kabâ'ir*) ceases to be a Faithful; and the *Khârijîyah* went further and called everyone who committed even a minor sin, an Unbeliever (*cf.* II, 2). But in the above Qur'ân-verse the designation "Faithful" is used even in respect to those who commit one of the greatest sins in Islâm, namely, hostility against other Muslims. Thus it is shown that no sin, with the exception of a direct or indirect denial of the Oneness of God, can cause a Faithful to lose his status as such (*cf.* II, 96).

107. The person referred to was 'Alî ibn abî Ṭâlib, and the occasion the "battle of the camel" in which 'Alî fought against 'Â'ishah, Ṭalḥah and Zubair (10th Jumâdâ'th-thâniyah, 36 H.—4th December, 656 C.).

108. All Muslims are brethren and should, therefore, be good companions.

SECTION XXIII

[THERE ARE] DIFFERENT DEGREES OF WRONG[109]

(٢٣) بـاب

ظلم دون ظلم

(32) Abû 'l-Walîd related to us: Shu'bah related to us;—he[110] said: Also, Bishr related to me, saying: Muhammad related to us, on the authority of Shu'bah, on the authority of Sulaimân, on the authority of Ibrâhîm, on the authority of 'Alqamah, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh:

(٣٢) حدثنا أبو الوليد: حدثنا شعبة؛ (ح) قال: وحدثني بشر قال: حدثنا محمد عن شعبة عن سليمان عن ابراهيم عن علقمة عن عبد الله:

WHEN [the verse] "Those who have faith and do not obscure their faith with wrongdoing"[111] was revealed, the Companions of the Apostle of God said: "Which of us doth not commit a wrong?"—Then God sent down [the Revelation]: "Behold, the ascribing of partners [unto God] is indeed a tremendous wrong."[112]

لما نزلت «الذين آمنوا ولم يلبسوا ايمانهم بظلم» قال أصحاب رسول الله [ص]: «أينا لم يظلم؟» — فأنزل الله: «ان الشرك لظلم عظيم.»

SECTION XXIV

THE MARKS OF A HYPOCRITE

(٢٤) بـاب

علامات المنـافق

(33) Sulaimân Abû 'r-Rabî' related to us: Ismâ'îl ibn Ja'far related to us: Nâfi' ibn Mâlik ibn abî 'Âmir abû Suhail related to us, on the authority of his father,[113] on the authority of Abû Hurairah,

(٣٣) حدثنا سليمان أبو الربيع: حدثنا اسمعيل بن جعفر: حدثنا نافع بن مالك بن أبي عامر أبو سهيل عن أبيه عن أبي هريرة

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: "The sign of the hypocrite is threefold: when he speaketh, he lieth; when he maketh a promise, he keepeth it not; and when he is trusted, he betrayeth."

عن النبي [ص] قال: «آية المنافق ثلاث: اذا حدث كذب، واذا وعد أخلف، واذا اؤتمن خان.»

(34) Qabîsah ibn 'Uqbah related to us, saying: Sufyân related to us, on the authority of Al-A'mash, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn Murrah, on the authority of Masrûq, on the authority of 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Amr:

(٣٤) حدثنا قبيصة بن عقبة قال: حدثنا سفيان عن الأعمش عن عبد الله بن مرة عن مسروق عن عبد الله بن عمرو

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109. Literally: "wrong less than wrong."

110. *i.e.*, Al-Bukhârî. As to the meaning of the letter ح in the Arabic text, see II, 37.

111. Q. vi, 82.—With this verse Al-Bukhârî proves that faith is not necessarily annihilated by wrongdoing: it is only "obscured," that is, lessened in value and in force.

112. Q. xxxi, 13.—The adjective "tremendous" in connection with "wrong" implies that there must exist lesser degrees of wrong as well; therefore the heading of this Section: "(There are) different degrees of wrong." The wrong which consists in ascribing of partners to God is of such a nature as to annihilate faith. Beyond this, every wrong is pardonable.

113. Mâlik ibn abî 'Âmir.

THE Prophet said: "Whoso hath four[114] things in him is an utter hypocrite; and whoso hath something of these in him hath something of hypocrisy in him until he giveth it up: when he is trusted, he betrayeth; when he speaketh, he lieth; when he giveth a pledge, he breaketh it; and when he contendeth, he revileth."

Shu'bah concurred with him.[115]

أن النبي [ص] قال: «أربع من كن فيه كان منافقا خالصا، ومن كانت فيه خصلة منهن كانت فيه خصلة من النفاق حتى يدعها: اذا اؤتمن خان، واذا حدث كذب، واذا عاهد غدر، واذا خاصم فجر.»

تابعه شعبة عن الأعمش

SECTION XXV

THE VIGIL DURING THE NIGHT OF DESTINY[116] IS [AN ACT] OF THE FAITH

(٢٥) بـاب

قيام ليلة القدر من الايمان

(35) Abû 'l-Yamân related to us, saying: Shu'aib told us, saying: Abû 'z-Zinâd related to us, on the authority of Al-A'raj, on the authority of Abû Hurairah, who said:

THE Apostle of God said: "Whoso keepeth awake during the Night of Destiny with faith and in view of God alone, shall be forgiven that which is past of his sin."

(٣٥) حدثنا أبو اليمان قال: أخبرنا شعيب قال: حدثنا أبو الزناد عن الأعرج عن أبي هريرة قال:

قال رسول الله [ص]: «من يقم ليلة القدر ايمانا واحتسابا غفر له ما تقدم من ذنبه.»

SECTION XXVI

JIHÂD IS [AN ACT] OF FAITH

(٢٦) بـاب

الجهاد من الايمان

(36) Haramî ibn Ḥafṣ related to us: 'Abd al-Wâḥid related to us: 'Umârah related to us: Abû Zur'ah ibn 'Amr related to us, saying: I heard Abû Hurairah [relate],

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: "God [saith]: 'I[117] promise unto

(٣٦) حدثنا حرمي بن حفص: حدثنا عبد الواحد حدثنا عمارة: حدثنا أبو زرعة بن عمرو قال: سمعت أبا هريرة

عن النبي [ص] قال: «انتدب الله لمن

114. In the preceding Tradition the Prophet speaks of three things as being characteristics of a hypocrite; in this Tradition he mentions four. This does not mean that these three or four bad traits of character are the only ones which make for hypocrisy: they are its most *outstanding* signs. Such an enumeration of the most outstanding traits of one and the same thing is typical for the Arabic idiom, and is very often found in Traditions. It never excludes the possibility of other elements of the same thing being equally *significant*, and is thus a parallel to the Arabic use of superlatives, as explained in II, 34.

115. *i.e.*, with Sufyân (*cf. isnâd*), thus corroborating the latter's version.

116. This night of Ramaḍân is believed to be the one on which the first verses of the Qur'ân were revealed, in which case it probably would be the night of the 17th of Ramaḍân. But the commentators are not unanimous on the subject of the date; their widely differing opinions are the result not of historical evidence but of guesswork. It would, however, appear from Traditions (*e.g.*, Tr. 49) that this night is one of the last ten nights of Ramaḍân. Most commentators accept the 27th of that month as the probable date. The Prophet has stated, on several occasions, that on the Night of Destiny every sincere supplication of a true Believer will be fulfilled, and he, therefore, requested his followers to keep awake during that night and to pray to God. Owing to the uncertainty regarding the date, pious Muslims devote the last ten nights of Ramaḍân to these vigils and prayers.

117. In the original, the first half of this sentence is in the third person and the second half in the first person. As it is impossible literally to render into English this idiomatic peculiarity (called *iltifât*) of the Arabic language, the

him who goeth forth [to fight] in My way, prompted by faith in Me and belief in My Apostles, that I will let him return [alive] with whatever he hath obtained of reward[118] and spoil,[119] or will let him enter the Paradise.[120] ' "

خرج فى سبيله لايخرجه الا ايمان بى وتصديق برسلى أن أرجعه بما نال من أجر أوغنيمة أو أدخله الجنة.»

"And [said the Prophet,] were it not for the hardship it would cause to my community,[121] I would not remain behind any expedition[122]; indeed I would long to be killed in the way of God, [and] thereafter [again] to be made alive, [and] thereafter [again] to be killed, [and] thereafter [again] to be made alive, [and] thereafter [again] to be killed.[123] "

«ولولا أن أشق على أمتى ما قعدت خلف سرية ولوددت أنى أقتل فى سبيل الله ثم أحيا ثم أقتل ثم أحيا ثم أقتل.»

SECTION XXVII

(٢٧) بـاب

SUPEREROGATORY WORSHIP[124] DURING RAMAḌÂN IS [PART] OF THE FAITH

تطوع قيام رمضان من الايمان

(37) Ismâ'îl related to us, saying: Mâlik related to me, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, on the authority of Ḥumaid ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân, on the authority of Abû Hurairah:

(٣٧) حدثنا اسمعيل قال حدثنى مالك عن ابن شهاب عن حميد بن عبد الرحمن عن أبى هريرة

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whole sentence has been rendered in the first person. A Tradition in which God Himself is made to speak is called *ḥadîth qudsî* ("Sacred Tradition").

118. *i.e.*, title to reward in the Hereafter.

119. Spoils obtained in *jihâd* do not diminish the moral value of man's endeavour, provided the original motive was the desire to serve the cause of God.

120. *i.e.*, if he is killed in the war.

121. The Prophet knew (because he demanded it from his followers) that all his actions would for all times be the standard of behaviour for Muslims; therefore, if he would go out with every expedition every Muslim would think himself individually obliged to do the same under all circumstances. In reality, *jihâd* is an obligation for the Muslim community as such, but not necessarily for every member of the community, provided the necessary number of fighters is available. Should all Muslims join the army in each and every war, there would none be left to perform the peaceful social duties, and the consequence would be an utter disorganisation of the society and its misery. This the Prophet certainly did not wish to happen; and so he restrained himself on several occasions from going to war, thus indicating that the duty of *jihâd* is not under all circumstances universal.

122. *Sariyyah* (from *sirr*, secret or secrecy) denotes a military expedition consisting of no more than 400 men who, owing to their small number, can move with considerable rapidity and secrecy. A military detachment of more than 400 men is called *jaish*.

123. In this saying of the Prophet is emphasised the supreme importance of *jihâd* which will be discussed in the commentary on *The Book of Jihâd*. It remains here to point out Al-Bukhârî's motive for placing this Tradition between others dealing with the merits of worship and fasting during Ramaḍân. The primary meaning of *jihâd* is "great endeavour" or "great exertion"; and this can also apply to the exertion of fasting during a whole month and vigils during ten consecutive nights (*cf.* II, 116). Further, in the above Tradition dealing with *jihâd* the expression "prompted by faith in Me" clearly indicates that the motive of a true *mujâhid* must be the desire to please God. In the preceding and subsequent Traditions on Ramaḍân a very similar phrase, "*for the love of God*," invariably occurs. Hence it is apparent that Al-Bukhârî, always intent on proving that right actions are part of the faith, wished to emphasise the merit of actions of a very exerting nature undertaken to please God alone.

124. The term *taṭawwu'* generally applies to supererogatory acts of worship (*nawâfil;* sing., *nafl*) performed beyond the obligatory acts (*farâ'iḍ;* sing., *farḍ*).

THE Apostle of God said: "Whoso spendeth Ramaḍân with faith and for the love of God, shall be forgiven that which is past of his sin."

﴿أن رسول الله [ص] قال: «من قام رمضان ايمانا واحتسابا غفر له ما تقدم من ذنبه.»﴾

SECTION XXVIII

(٢٨) بـاب

IT IS [PART] OF THE FAITH TO FAST DURING RAMAḌÂN FOR THE LOVE OF GOD

صوم رمضان احتسابا من الايمان

(38) Ibn Salâm related to us, saying: Muḥammad ibn Fuḍail told us, saying: Yaḥyâ ibn Sa'îd related to us, on the authority of Abû Salamah, on the authority of Abû Hurairah, who said:

(٣٨) حدثنا ابن سلام قال: أخبرنا محمد بن فضيل قال: حدثنا يحيى بن سعيد عن أبي سلمة عن أبي هريرة قال:

THE Apostle of God said: "Whoso fasteth during Ramaḍân with faith and for the love of God, shall be forgiven that which is past of his sin."

﴿قال رسول الله [ص]: «من صام رمضان ايمانا واحتسابا غفر له ما تقدم من ذنبه.»﴾

SECTION XXIX

(٢٩) بـاب

THE [ISLÂMIC] RELIGION IS EASY TO PRACTICE

الدين يسر

And the saying of the Prophet: "The religion dearest unto God is that which is based on the belief in His Oneness[125] and is easy to practice."[126]

وقول النبي [ص]: «أحب الدين الى الله الحنيفة السمحة.»

(39) 'Abd as-Salâm ibn Muṭahhar related to us, saying: 'Umar ibn 'Alî related to us, on the authority of Ma'n ibn Muḥammad al-Ghifârî, on the authority of Sa'îd ibn abî Sa'îd al-Maqburî, on the authority of Abû Hurairah:

(٣٩) حدثنا عبد السلام بن مطهر قال: حدثنا عمر بن علي عن معن بن محمد الغفاري عن سعيد بن أبي سعيد المقبري عن أبي هريرة

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: "Behold, the [Islâmic] religion is easy to practice; and none may overdo this religion but it overwhelmeth him.[127] So take

﴿عن النبي [ص] قال: «ان الدين يسر، ولن يشاد هذا الدين أحد الا غلبه؛ فسددوا

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125. Regarding the literal meaning of *ḥanîf*, see I, 12. Here, as in the Qur'ân, this word is to be taken in its secondary meaning of one who believes in the Oneness and Indivisibility of God in all His manifestations and lives a righteous life. As the noun form *ḥanîf* was associated in the Qur'ân with the name of Abraham, the commentators generally interpret *ad-dîn al-ḥanîfîyah* as "the religion of Abraham." This, however, does not help us because we know nothing definite about the religion of Abraham except that it was based on the belief in the Oneness of God. Accordingly, the adjective *ḥanîf* (fem., *ḥanîfîyah*) has been translated as "based on the belief in the Oneness of God."

126. The *isnâd* of this Tradition did not stand the test stipulated by the author, and he did not formally incorporate it in his compilation. It can be found, with complete *isnâd*, in *MIH* i, 236.

127. Exaggeration in religious matters is discouraged in Islâm because it tends to detract man from the natural way of living and "overwhelms" him in the sense of imposing too great a strain on his physical and psychical faculties. It is said in the Qur'ân (ii, 286): "God imposeth not upon any soul a duty beyond its capacity." Islâm is a programme of natural living; and it strongly disapproves of austerities and acts of self-denial (*rahbânîyah*) favoured by other religions as a means of spiritual progress. The teachings of Islâm, so far as the activity of man *is* concerned, can be compressed into a few words: "Make the best use of all your capacities and faculties for your own and for others' sake—and *don't* try to go beyond that." It can be said with fairness that the extravagant devotional practices of so many Ṣûfîs do not coincide with this elementary principle of Islâm; their austerities betray the influence of non-Islâmic (mainly Christian

the middle path and approach [perfection][128] and be of good cheer, and take to your aid the prayers in the morning, in the afternoon and a little [also] at night.[129]"

وقاربوا وأبشروا واستعينوا بالغدوة والروحة وشئ من الدلجة.»

SECTION XXX

PRAYER IS [PART] OF THE FAITH

And the Word of God, the Most High: "And God did not wish that your faith be of no avail"[130]—that is, your prayers toward the [Sacred] House.[131]

(٣٠) بـاب

الصلاة من الايمان

—وقول الله تعالى: «وما كان الله ليضيع ايمانكم» —يعنى صلاتكم عندالبيت.

(40) 'Amr ibn Khâlid related to us, saying: Zuhair related to us, saying: Abû Isḥâq related to us, on the authority of Al-Barâ':

(٤٠) حدثنا عمرو بن خالد قال: حدثنا زهير قال: حدثنا أبو اسحق عن البراء

WHEN the Prophet first reached Al-Madînah, he alighted at his grandparents'[132]

أن النبي [ص] كان أول ما قدم المدينة نزل على أجداده

and Hindu) esoterics which has been partly responsible for the doctrinal deformation of Islâm. The Prophet has very clearly defined our religious duties. An attempt to exceed them indirectly implies that those teachings are not complete—for a Muslim an impossible position.

128. *i.e.*, according to your capacity.

129. *Ghadwah, rawḥah, duljah*: these three expressions originally denote walking during certain times of the day, *viz.*, in the morning, the afternoon and the late evening; hence, figuratively, these times in themselves or any actions generally performed at these times. Here they stand for the daily prayers: in the morning (*fajr*), in the afternoon (*ẓuhr* and *'aṣr*) and at night (*maghrib* and *'ishâ'*).

130. Q. ii, 143.—This refers to the change of the *qiblah* (see II, 136) from Jerusalem to Mecca, ordered in Rajab, 2 H. Before this and the preceding and the following verses were revealed, the Muslims used to pray in the direction of the Temple of Jerusalem; and some of the Companions thought that now that the change was ordered their earlier prayers had lost their value. To allay their fears God revealed the above Qur'ân-verse stating that nothing is futile that has been done in good faith.

131. There is some difference of opinion regarding the expression *al-bait* (the house) used here by Al-Bukhârî. It generally denotes the "House of God" in Mecca, *i.e.*, the Ka'bah; but it is obvious that Al-Bukhârî refers to prayers which had been offered towards Jerusalem. The older commentators have tried their best to explain away this difficulty, but the reasoning of most of them is far-fetched and unconvincing. Only a few (among them An-Nawawî) have given the right interpretation, and a simple one too: they say that Al-Bukhârî used this word in abbreviation of *al-bait al-maqdas* ("the Sacred House"), that is, Jerusalem.

The substitution of *ṣalâtakum* (your prayer) for *îmânakum* (your faith) in Al-Bukhârî's explanation is forced and unnecessary. The meaning of the Qur'ân-verse in question (ii, 143) is obvious; it expresses the cardinal Islâmic doctrine that actions are judged by intentions. Faith was the motive of the early Muslims behind the prayers towards Jerusalem, and it was faith that gave value to those prayers; the action itself was secondary. Al-Bukhârî's substitution of "your prayer" for "your faith" means no less than a substitution of the effect for the cause—a logical mistake similar to his identification of *dîn* and *îmân* (*cf.* II, 21).

132. When the Prophet, on his *hijrah* from Mecca, reached the outskirts of Al-Madînah (about noon on the 12th of Rabî' al-awwal, 1 H.), he stopped at the village Qubâ' and stayed a fortnight in the house of Kalthûm ibn Haram al-Awsî. After having built there a mosque—the first in Islâm—he proceeded to the town and alighted at the house of Abû Ayyûb al-Anṣârî of the tribe of Banû Najjâr, a sub-tribe of Khazraj. Now, neither Abû Ayyûb nor Kalthûm were directly related to the Prophet. But the latter's great-grandfather, Hâshim, had married Salmah bint 'Amr of the tribe of Banû Najjâr at Al-Madînah, who was the mother of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's grandfather. Thus he was related to the Banû Najjâr and indirectly through them to Abû Ayyûb ('UQ i, 284). The expressions "grandparents" or "maternal uncles" are, therefore, not to be taken literally. It is an Arab custom to apply these designations not only to direct relatives but also to other members of their tribes.

—or he[133] said: his maternal uncles'[134]— of the Anṣâr; and he prayed sixteen or seventeen months[135] toward Jerusalem, although he would have loved to have his Qiblah[136] toward the House [of God].[137] And the first prayer which he prayed [toward Mecca] was a prayer of the afternoon[138]; and a group [of his Companions] prayed with him. Then a man of those who had prayed with him[139] went out and passed by people in a mosque,[140] and they were bowing down [in prayer]; and he said: "I take God for my witness: verily, I have prayed with the Apostle of God toward Mecca." So they turned, as they were,[141] toward the House [of God].

And the Jews had been pleased when he had prayed toward Jerusalem in common

—أو قال: أخواله— من الأنصار، وأنه صلى قبل بيت المقدس ستة عشر شهراً أو سبعة عشر شهراً؛ وكان يعجبه أن تكون قبلته قبل البيت؛ وأنه صلى أول صلاة صلاها صلاة العصر وصلى معه قوم، فخرج رجل ممن صلى معه فمر على أهل مسجد وهم راكعون فقال: «أشهد بالله لقد صليت مع رسول الله [ص] قبل مكة.» فداروا كما هم قبل البيت.

وكانت اليهود قد أعجبهم اذ كان يصلي قبل

133. *i.e.*, the narrator of Abû Isḥâq (*cf. isnâd*).

134. See II, 132.

135. The uncertainty regarding the length of this period is attributed to the narrator Zuhair (*cf. isnâd*), and is quoted by Al-Bukhârî and other Traditionists in several Traditions corresponding to the one given above. In some compilations, however, there are versions in which it is positively stated that the period was 16 months; in others, that it was 17 months. This apparent uncertainty can easily be explained if we bear in mind that the Arabs generally include in their calculations the full calendar month of the beginning and that of the end of a period. Now, the Prophet reached Al-Madînah on the 12th of Rabî al-awwal, 1 H. (as to this the opinions are unanimous); and the Qur'ân-verses relating to the change of the *qiblah* were revealed, according to several authentic Traditions, about the middle of Rajab, 2 H.—that is, about 16 months after the Prophet's arrival at Al-Madînah. Those of the Companions and *tâb'un* who declare that the period was 17 months obviously count Rabî'al-awwal, 1 H., and Rajab, 2 H., as full months.

136. *Qiblah*: the direction towards which one turns his attention; hence, the direction of prayers.

137. *i.e.*, the Ka'bah in Mecca. The Prophet was aware that the Temple of Jerusalem was the *qiblah* of the Jews and the Christians, and he desired (*cf. Q.* ii, 144) that Muslims should have a *qiblah* of their own, which would symbolise their unity and their spiritual independence from the ritual of non-Muslims. In fact, the subsequent command to Muslims, to face in their prayers a central point common to them alone, has powerfully contributed to that instinctive feeling of unity which to this day, in spite of so many differences and sectarian dissensions, binds the Muslims together into one single *ummah* and makes them realise that they are a group of their own, different from the rest of the world. It is impossible to over-estimate this feeling of unity, so clearly foreseen by the Prophet: to this the Muslims owed their former greatness, and it will remain, so long as Muslims exist, their basic social conception.

138. On that day the Prophet had already finished two *rak'ah* of the afternoon prayer, when the Qur'ân-verse ordering the change of the *qiblah* from Jerusalem to Mecca was revealed; and the Prophet immediately turned round (his followers doing the same) and finished the remaining two *rak'ah* with the face towards Mecca. According to the most authentic Traditions (*cf. 'UQ* i, 286; *FB* i, 340) this happened in the Prophet's mosque (*al-masjid an-nabawî*), there exist some other, but not equally reliable Traditions which mention the mosque in the suburb of Banû Salamah—to-day known as *al-masjid al-qiblatain* ("the mosque of the two *qiblahs*")—as the one in which the change was ordered. This obvious mistake is explained in II, 140.

139. His name was 'Ubâd. There were several Companions of that name, and it is not certain whether the one in question was 'Ubâd ibn Nahîk, 'Ubâd ibn Bishr or 'Ubâd ibn Wahb ('*UQ* i, 286).

140. It was the mosque of Banû Salamah, subsequently called *al-masjid al-qiblatain* ("the mosque of the two *qiblahs*"). This name, due, of course, to the event described in Tr. 40, gave rise to the erroneous assumption that it was in this mosque that the Prophet received the revelation commanding the change of the *qiblah*. As a matter of fact, the revelation came in the Prophet's mosque (*al-masjid an-nabawî*) and was immediately communicated to people praying in the mosque of Banû Salamah and the next morning to those praying in the mosque of Qubâ' ('*UQ* i, 286).

141. *i.e.*, without interrupting their prayers.

with the People of the Scripture. And when he turned his face toward the House [of God], they disapproved of it.[142]

بيت المقدس وأهل الكتاب، فلما ولى وجهه قبل البيت أنكروا ذلك.

Zuhair[143] said: Abû Isḥâq related to us, on the authority of Al-Barâ', in the course of this Tradition:

قال زهير: حدثنا أبو اسحق عن البراء فى حديثه هذا

Men had died before [the Qiblah] was changed, and [others] had been killed; and we knew not what to say of them. Then God, the Most High, sent down [the Revelation]: "And God did not wish that your faith be of no avail."

أنه مات على القبلة قبل أن تحول رجال وقتلوا، فلم ندر ما نقول فيهم، فأنزل الله تعالى: «وما كان الله ليضيع ايمانكم.»

SECTION XXXI

MAN'S SINCERE ISLÂM

(٣١) بـــاب

حسن اسلام المرء

(41) Mâlik[144] said: Zaid ibn Aslam told me that 'Aṭâ' ibn Yasâr told him that Abû Sa'îd al-Khudrî told him that

(٤١) قال مالك: أخبرنى زيد بن أسلم أن عطاء ابن يسار أخبره أن أبا سعيد الخدرى أخبره

HE heard the Apostle of God say: "If man embraceth Islâm and is sincere in it,[145] God will forgive him every evil deed he [previously] had committed. And after that, the requital shall be: for a good deed, ten times to sevenhundred times[146]; and for an evil deed, one time—unless God forgiveth it.[147]"

أنه سمع رسول الله [ص] يقول: «اذا أسلم العبد فحسن اسلامه يكفر الله عنه كل سيئة كان زلفها، وكان بعد ذلك القصاص: الحسنة بعشر أمثالها الى سبعمائة ضعف والسيئة بمثلها — الا أن يتجاوز الله عنها.»

(42) Isḥâq ibn Manṣûr related to us, saying: 'Abd ar-Razzâq related to us, saying: Ma'mar told us, on the authority of Hammâm, on the authority of Abû Hurairah, who said:

(٤٢) حدثنا اسحق بن منصور قال: حدثنا عبد الرزاق قال: أخبرنا معمر عن همام عن أبى هريرة قال:

142. The Jews of Al-Madînah had hoped that the Prophet would continue praying towards the *qiblah* of Jerusalem, and thus enhance their religious prestige in Arabia.

143. This additional paragraph is, in reality, part of another, analogous, Tradition (quoted in *The Book of Qur'ân-Exegesis* of this work) which the author received from Abû Nu'aim, on the authority of Zuhair; the rest of the *isnâd* is there the same as that at the beginning of Tr. 40. The author has added it here because it refers to the same subject and, moreover, explains the circumstances which led to the revelation of Q. ii, 143, quoted at the head of this Section.

144. Mâlik ibn Anas was not a contemporary of Al-Bukhârî; there must have been, therefore, an intermediate narrator between them. Because of the omission of that narrator's name the Tradition quoted under this *isnâd* is *mu'allaq* ("suspended") and not *mawṣûl* ("finally connected"). Ordinarily such a defect would detract from the authenticity of a Tradition; but in this case the authenticity is warranted by the fact that the same Tradition has been quoted with full and independent *isnâd* by several other Traditionists of repute like An-Nisâ'î, Ad-Dâraquṭnî, Al-Baihaqî.

145. Literally: "and his Islâm has become good."

146. That is, according to the moral importance of the particular action. Regarding the use of numbers in the Arabic idiom, see II, 27.

147. God in His mercy will multiply the merit of good deeds, but will not increase the weight of sins; and He might even completely forgive the sins of a Faithful.

THE Apostle of God said: "If any of you is sincere in his Islâm, each good deed he doeth shall count tenfold to seven-hundredfold, and each evil deed he doeth shall count as one."

قال رسول الله [ص]: «اذا أحسن أحدكم اسلامه فكل حسنة يعملها تكتب له بعشر أمثالها الى سبعمائة ضعف، وكل سيئة يعملها تكتب له بمثلها.»

SECTION XXXII

THE CULT[148] DEAREST UNTO GOD IS THAT WHICH DURETH LONGEST

باب (٣٢)

أحب الدين الى الله أدومه

(43) Muḥammad ibn al-Muthannâ related to us, saying: Yaḥyâ related to us, on the authority of Hishâm, who said: My father[149] told me,

(٤٣) حدثنا محمد بن المثنى قال: حدثنا يحيى عن هشام قال: أخبرني أبي

ON the authority of 'Â'ishah: The Prophet came unto her, and with her was a woman; so he said: "Who is she?"—She said: "Such and such[150]"—and she mentioned how much [that woman] used to pray. He said: "Enough! Only that is incumbent upon you which ye are able to do.[151] And, by God! God will not grow tired [of you], but ye will grow tired[152]; and the cult dearest unto Him is that which the worshipper can permanently endure."

عن عائشة أن النبي [ص] دخل عليها وعندها امرأة. فقال: «من هذه؟» — قالت: «فلانة» — تذكر من صلاتها. قال: «مه! عليكم بما تطيقون؛ فوالله لا يمل الله حتى تملوا» وكان أحب الدين اليه ما داوم عليه صاحبه.»

SECTION XXXIII

THE INCREASE OF FAITH AND ITS DECREASE

باب (٣٣)

زيادة الايمان ونقصانه

And the Word of the Most High: "And we increased them in guidance.[153]"—"... and that those who have faith may increase in faith.[154]"—And He said: "To-day I have perfected your religion for you."[155] And if aught of a perfect thing is omitted, then it is imperfect.[156]

وقول الله تعالى: «وزدناهم هدى» — «ويزداد الذين آمنوا ايمانا» — وقال: «اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم.» فاذا ترك شيئا من الكمال فهو ناقص.

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148. In this context *dîn* connotes only the devotional practices, *i.e.*, cult.
149. 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair.
150. In another version of the same Tradition (*SB, The Book of Prayer*) it is said that that woman belonged to the Banû Asad clan of Quraish; again other versions (*MM, Ṣalât al-lail*; *SM Kitâb aṣ-ṣalâh*) give her full name as Al-Ḥawlâ' bint Tuwait ibn Ḥabîb. She was related to Khadîjah (*FB* 1, 75). All the above versions mention that she hardly slept at night but spent all her time in prayers.
151. *cf.* II, 127.—In the version quoted by Imâm Mâlik (*MM, Ṣalât al-lail*) the Prophet is said to have been so disgusted with this misconception of piety that one could read disgust (*karâhîyah*) from his face.
152. *i.e.*, "God will never grow tired of giving you rewards, but you will grow tired of worship if you overdo it."
153. *Q.* xviii, 13.
154. ,, lxxiv, 31.
155. ,, v, 3.
156. *i.e.*, a perfect thing cannot increase in quality—otherwise it would not be perfect—but it can decrease and lose its perfection. For Al-Bukhârî *dîn* and *îmân* are identical terms: and so he quotes the above-mentioned Qur'ân-verse as a proof of the possibility of qualitative changes in faith. But as has been said before (II, 21), Al-Bukhârî's

(44) Muslim ibn Ibrâhîm related to us, saying: Hishâm related to us, saying: Qatâdah related to us, on the authority of Anas,

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: "Out of the Fire will come whoso hath said: 'There is no deity but God' and hath had a barley-grain's weight of good in his heart; and out of the Fire will come whoso hath said: 'There is no deity but God' and hath had a wheat-grain's weight of good in his heart; and out of the Fire will come whoso hath said: 'There is no deity but God' and hath had an atom's weight of good in his heart.[157]"

Abû 'Abd Allâh[158] said: Abân said: Qatâdah related to us: Anas related to us [the same Tradition], on the authority of the Prophet, [saying] "of faith" instead "of good."

(٤٤) حدثنا مسلم بن ابراهيم قال: حدثنا هشام
قال: حدثنا قتادة عن أنس

عن النبي [ص] قال: «يخرج من النار من
قال لا اله الا الله وفى قلبه وزن شعيرة من خير؛
ويخرج من النار من قال لا اله الا الله وفى قلبه
وزن برة من خير؛ ويخرج من النار من قال
لا اله الا الله وفى قلبه وزن ذرة من خير.»

قال أبوعبد الله: قال أبان: حدثنا قتادة:
حدثنا أنس عن النبي [ص] «من ايمان» مكان
«خير»

(45) Al-Ḥasan ibn aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ related to us that he heard Ja'far ibn 'Awn [say]: Abû'l-'Umais related to us, saying: Qais ibn Muslim told us, on the authority of Ṭâriq ibn Shihâb,

ON the authority of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb: A man of the Jews[159] said unto him: "In your book there is a verse which ye read; had it been revealed unto us, the Jewish

(٤٥) حدثنا الحسن بن الصباح سمع جعفر بن
عون: حدثنا أبو العميس قال: أخبرنا قيس
ابن مسلم عن طارق بن شهاب

عن عمر بن الخطاب [رض] أن رجلاً من
اليهود قال له: «يا أمير المؤمنين ا آية فى كتابكم
تقرؤنها، لو علينا معشر اليهود نزلت لاتخذنا

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contention that *dîn* and *îmân* are one and the same thing cannot be justified. Here his mistake is even more obvious because in this Qur'ân-verse *dîn* very clearly means the sum-total of religious commandments, otherwise known as *sharî'ah*. When the *sharî'ah* was still in its initial stages, before it was completed, the Muslims who followed it could, nevertheless, have had perfect faith. Faith is not an equivalent of mere observance of rules and commandments. It is a spiritual phenomenon: the acceptance of a certain relation by a faithful towards the object of his faith. So long as the faithful believes that object to be real or perfect, his faith is perfect; and the actual quality of the object does not necessarily interfere with the reality or completeness of his faith. This argument of Al-Bukhârî can, therefore, safely be dismissed as invalid. The evidence of increase and decrease of faith, however, is abundantly forthcoming from other passages in the Qur'ân and the Traditions and does by no means lose its weight if we reject an untenable argument.

157. Faith, however weak, will ultimately secure salvation to man, provided that it was real. This beautiful parable is for Al-Bukhârî a further proof that faith is not identical with mere mental acknowledgment (*taṣdîq*) which need not possess the quality of intensity, but that it is a force and a movement in the human heart, and can therefore increase and decrease. In some versions of this Tradition, like the one above, the expression "good" (*khair*) is used for faith, which is justifiable from the ethical point of view: goodness brings us nearer to the Will of God, and this is the purpose of faith as well. In some other versions, however, (like the one mentioned in the appendix to this Tradition) the word "faith" is explicitely used.

158. *i.e.*, Al-Bukhârî.

159. This man (according to *FB* i, 78) was Ka'b al-Aḥbâr, a Jew of Al-Yaman. He was one of the most learned men of Arabia (*aḥbâr* is the plural form of *ḥabr*, which was a title of scholarship among the Jews). During the Caliphate of 'Umar he came to Al-Madînah and soon became highly esteemed for his learning and trustworthiness. Some of the most important among the Companions (*e.g.*, Abû Hurairah and 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abbâs) were his disciples, and the Caliph 'Umar himself took such a liking to him that he kept him in his company. He entered Jerusalem with 'Umar in the year 15 H. and embraced Islâm two years later. He died during the reign of 'Uthmân in the year 32 or, according to some authorities, 34 H. (*TT* viii, 438 ff.; *Is* iii, 635 ff.).

people, we would indeed have made the day [of its revelation] a festival."—He said: "Which verse is it?"—He said: "'To-day I have perfected your religion for you and completed My favour unto you and chosen Islâm as your religion.'"—'Umar said: "Indeed we know that day and the place where [this verse] was revealed unto the Prophet: he was at 'Arafah,[160] on a Friday."

ذلك اليوم عيداً.» — قال: «أيّ آية؟» — قال: «اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم وأتممت عليكم نعمتي ورضيت لكم الاسلام ديناً.» — قال عمر: «قد عرفنا ذلك اليوم والمكان الذي نزلت فيه على النبي [ص] وهو قائم بعرفة يوم جمعة.»

SECTION XXXIV

THE SACRED TAX IS (PART) OF ISLÂM

(٣٤) بـاب

الزكاة من الاسلام

And His Word: "And they have been bidden naught save to worship God, sincere unto Him in religion, as Unitarians,[161] and to observe prayer and to pay the sacred tax; and that is the right religion."[162]

وقوله: «وما أمروا الا ليعبدوا الله مخلصين له الدين حنفاء ويقيموا الصلاة ويؤتوا الزكاة وذلك دين القيمة»

(46) Ismâ'îl related to us, saying: Mâlik ibn Anas related to me, on the authority of his uncle Abû Suhail ibn Mâlik, on the authority of his father,[163] who heard Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaid Allâh say:

(٤٦) حدثنا اسمعيل قال: حدثني مالك بن أنس عن عمه أبي سهيل بن مالك عن أبيه أنه سمع طلحة بن عبيد الله يقول:

THERE came unto the Apostle of God a man from Najd,[164] his hair in disorder; we heard him shouting but did not comprehend what he said until he came nearer. Then it became clear that he was asking about [the duties of] Islâm.[165] And the Prophet said: "Five prayers during the day and the night."—Then [the man] said: "Am I bound to offer more than these?"—He said: "No, unless thou doest more of thy own accord." [Then] the Apostle of God said: "And the

جاء رجل الى رسول الله [ص] من أهل نجد ثائر الرأس نسمع دويّ صوته ولا نفقه ما يقول حتى دنا، فاذا هو يسأل عن الاسلام. فقال رسول الله [ص]: «خمس صلوات في اليوم والليلة.» — فقال: «هل عليّ غيرها؟» — قال: «لا الا أن تطوع.» قال رسول الله [ص]: «وصيام رمضان.»

160. The plain of 'Arafah or 'Arafât (east to Mecca) where the pilgrims assemble on the 9th of Dhû 'l-Ḥijjah. That day is the climax of the *ḥajj*, the Pilgrimage to Mecca, and *eo ipso* a festive day. The above Qur'ân-verse (v, 3) was revealed to the Prophet on Friday, the 9th Dhû 'l-Ḥijjah, 10 H. (March, 632 C.), on the occasion of his "Farewell"-Pilgrimage (*ḥijjat al-widâ'*). Regarding Al-Bukhârî's peculiar interpretation of this verse, see II, 156.

161. In the original: *ḥunafâ'*. See I, 12 and II, 125.

162. Q. xcviii, 5.

163. Mâlik ibn abî 'Amir.

164 Najd (lit., highland) comprises all Central Arabia between the Ḥijâz Mountains and Al-'Irâq, and between the Syrian Desert and the great southern desert Rub' al-Khâlî. As its name indicates, it is elevated above the coastal lowlands (Tihâmah) of Western Arabia and the country of Al-Aḥsâ, or Al-Ḥasâ, on the coast of the Persian Gulf.

165. i.e., about the duties incumbent upon a Muslim. Obviously he himself was already a Muslim, and therefore the Prophet did not mention to him the *kalimah* (the testimony that there is no deity but God and that Muḥammad is the Apostle of God). From another version of this Tradition, quoted by the author in *The Book of Fasts*, it clearly appears that the man inquired about the practical commandments (*aḥkâm*) only, and not about the fundamentals which he already knew.

fast of Ramadân."—He said: "Am I bound to fast more than this?"—He said: "No, unless thou doest more of thy own accord." Then the Apostle of God mentioned the sacred tax unto him; [and] he said: "Am I bound to give more than this?"—He said: "No, unless thou doest more of thy own accord."[166] Then the man went away, saying: "By God! I shall do no more than this, and no less!"—[And] the Apostle of God said: "He will be successful if he *is* sincere."

— قال: «هل عليّ غيره؟» — قال: «لا الا أن تطوع.» وذكر له رسول الله [ص] الزكاة؛ قال: «هل عليّ غيرها؟» — قال: «لا الا أن تطوع.» فأدبر الرجل وهو يقول: «والله لا أزيد على هذا ولا أنقص!» — قال رسول الله [ص]: «أفلح ان صدق.»

SECTION XXXV

TO FOLLOW FUNERALS IS (AN ACT) OF THE FAITH

(٣٥) بـاب

اتباع الجنائز من الايمان

(47) Ahmad ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Alî al-Manjûfî related to us, saying: Rawh related to us, saying: 'Awf related to us, on the authority of [both] Al-Hasan and Muhammad, on the authority of Abû Hurairah:

(٤٧) حدثنا أحمد بن عبد الله بن على المنجوفى قال: حدثنا روح قال: حدثنا عوف عن الحسن و محمد عن أبى هريرة

THE Apostle of God said: "Whoso followeth the funeral of a Muslim with faith and for the love of God, and remaineth with it until the prayers have been offered and the burial is over, behold, he shall receive a double reward, each part[167] [of which] will be like Uhud[168]; and whoso prayeth over the dead body and then returneth before it is buried, behold, he shall receive a single reward."[169]

أن رسول الله [ص] قال: «من اتبع جنازة مسلم ايمانا واحتسابا وكان معه حتى يصلى عليها ويفرغ من دفنها فانه يرجع من الأجر بقيراطين كل قيراط مثل أحد، ومن صلى عليها ثم رجع قبل أن تدفن فانه يرجع بقيراط.»

'Uthmân al-Mu'addhin concurred with him,[170] saying: 'Awf related to us the same, on the authority of Abû Hurairah, on the authority of the Prophet.

تابعه عثمان المؤذن قال: حدثنا عوف عن محمد عن أبى هريرة عن النبى [ص] نحوه

166. In this enumeration of duties incumbent upon a Believer the pilgrimage to Mecca, the fifth of the *arkân* of Islâm, is omitted. Probably the event referred to in the above Tradition took place before the time the pilgrimage became obligatory, that is, before the year 6 H.

167. Literally: "shall receive two *qirât* of reward, each *qirât* . . ." etc. A *qirât* was an ancient unit of weight, differing according to the custom of localities. Here it is used in the sense of "unit" or "part."

168. A mountain about three miles north-west of Al-Madînah, famous for the battle fought there between the Muslims and the heathen Quraish in Shawwâl, 3 H. (January, 625 C.). It is called Uhud (a derivation of *ahad*, one) on account of its isolation from other mountains. It is the highest mountain in the immediate vicinity of Al-Madînah, and thus the Prophet used its name as a metaphor for the greatness of the reward of a pious act.

169. Literally: "one *qirât*."

170. *i.e.*, with the narrator Rawh (*cf. isnâd*).

SECTION XXXVI

(۳٦) بـاب

(OF) THE FEAR OF THE FAITHFUL THAT HIS WORK MIGHT FAIL WITHOUT HIS BEING AWARE OF IT

خوف المؤمن من أن يحبط عمله وهو لا يشعر

And Ibrāhīm at-Taimī said: "I never compared my word with my deed but was afraid I might be accused of a lie.[171]"—And Ibn abī Mulaikah said: "I knew thirty Companions of the Prophet, and all of them were afraid they might be guilty of hypocrisy; none of them would say that he had faith [equal to that] of Gabriel or Michael."—And it is reported of Al-Ḥasan[172]: "None but a Faithful feareth it[173]; and none but a hypocrite deemeth himself secure from it.[174]"

وقال ابراهيم التيمي، «ماعرضت قولي على عملي الا خشيت أن أكون مكذباً.» — وقال ابن أبي مليكة، «أدركت ثلاثين من أصحاب النبي [ص] كلهم يخاف النفاق على نفسه، ما منهم أحد يقول انه على ايمان جبريل وميكائيل.» — ويذكر عن الحسن، «ماخافه الا مؤمن ولا أمنه الا منافق.»

And one must take care not to persist in fratricide[175] and disobedience [unto God] without repentance, owing to the Word of God, the Most High: "... and will not knowingly persist in [the wrong] they did."[176]

وما يحذر من الاصرار على التقاتل والعصيان من غير توبة لقول الله تعالى: «ولم يصروا على ما فعلوا وهم يعلمون.»

(48) Muḥammad ibn 'Ar'arah related to us: Shu'bah related to us, on the authority of Zubaid, who said: I asked Abū Wā'il about the Murji'ah,[177] and he said: 'Abd Allāh related to me:

(٤٨) حدثنا محمد بن عرعرة: حدثنا شعبة عن زبيد قال: سألت أبا وائل عن المرجئة فقال: حدثني عبد الله

THE Prophet said: "To abuse a Muslim is an evil deed, and to fight him, [an act of] unbelief.[178]"

أن النبي [ص] قال: «سباب المسلم فسوق وقتاله كفر.»

(49) Qutaibah ibn Sa'īd told us: Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far related to us, on the authority of Ḥumaid, on the authority of Anas, who said: 'Ubādah ibn aṣ-Ṣāmit told me:

(٤٩) أخبرنا قتيبة بن سعيد: حدثنا اسمعيل بن جعفر عن حميد عن أنس قال: أخبرني عبادة بن الصامت

THE Apostle of God went out to tell [people the date of] the Night of Destiny,[179] and [he met] two men of the Muslims [who] began to quarrel.[180] Then he said: "Behold, I went out to tell you [the date of] the Night of Destiny, and these two began

أن رسول الله [ص] خرج يخبر بليلة القدر فتلاحى رجلان من المسلمين، فقال: «انى خرجت لأخبركم بليلة القدر وانه تلاحى فلان وفلان

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171. *i.e.*, of hypocrisy.

172. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, famous *tābi'ī*.

173. *i.e.*, hypocrisy.

174. Self-complacency and lack of sincerity not only in his relations with others but also towards himself are characteristics of the hypocrite; and he never even suspects himself of hypocrisy. On the contrary, the man of sincere faith, moved by the desire to reach perfection, is always prone to finding fault with himself.

175. Literally: "fighting"—here obviously fight between Muslims (see Tr. 48); and all Muslims are brethren.

176. Q. iii, 135.

177. See II, 2.

178. *i.e.*, an act nearly tantamount to unbelief, and not unbelief—because the committing of a sin, with the exception of *shirk* (ascribing of partners to God), does not deprive man of his status as a faithful (*cf.* II, 106).

179. See II, 116.

180. It is said that these two men were the Prophet's Companions, 'Abd Allāh ibn abī Ḥadrada aud Ka'b ibn Mālik (*FB* i, 84).

to quarrel, and I forgot it.[181] But haply this may be good for you.[182] Look for it on the [twenty-]seventh, the [twenty-]ninth and the [twenty-]fifth [of Ramaḍân].[183]"

فرفعت؛ وعسى أن يكون خيراً لكم. التمسوها في السبع والتسع والخمس.»

SECTION XXXVII

(٣٧) بـاب

GABRIEL'S QUESTION TO THE PROPHET ABOUT FAITH, ISLÂM, SINCERITY IN ACTION, AND THE HOUR[184]—AND THE PROPHET'S ANSWER TO HIM

سؤال جبريل النبي [ص] عن الايمان والاسلام والاحسان وعلم الساعة—وبيان النبي [ص] له

Thereafter he said: "Gabriel came to teach you your religion"[185]—and [thus the Prophet] defined all this as religion; and to the deputation of 'Abd al-Qais[186] the Prophet defined [this] as the faith.[187]"—And the Word of the Most High: "And whoso seeketh as religion other than Islâm, it will not be accepted from him."[188]

ثم قال، «جاء جبريل يعلمكم دينكم» — فجعل ذلك كله ديناً، وما بين النبي [ص] لوفد عبد القيس من الايمان. وقوله تعالى، «ومن يبتغ غير الاسلام ديناً فلن يقبل منه.»

(50) Musaddad related to us, saying: Ismâ'îl ibn Ibrâhîm related to us, saying: Abû Ḥayyân at-Taimî told us, on the authority of Abû Zur'ah, on the authority of Abû Hurairah, who said:

(٥٠) حدثنا مسدد قال: حدثنا اسمعيل بن ابراهيم قال: أخبرنا أبو حيان التيمي عن أبي زرعة عن أبي هريرة قال:

ONE day the Prophet shewed himself unto the people, and there came a man unto him and said: "What is faith?"—

كان النبي [ص] بارزاً يوماً للناس فأتاه رجل فقال: «ما الايمان؟» — قال: «الايمان

181. Literally: "it was taken away"—that is, from the Prophet's knowledge ('UQ i, 326). This interpretation is supported by several analogous Traditions (*cf. SB, The Book of Fasts*) according to which the Prophet used the words: "I forgot it." Thus, the evil act of a person may sometimes cause spiritual damage to other persons who were not responsible for it; and the damage may well be out of all proportion to the significance the act itself assumes in the consciousness of him who perpetrated it. In the heading of this Section the author hints at this possibility and the fear it causes to the Faithful.

182. Because, owing to the uncertainty regarding the date of the Night of Destiny, the Faithful will intensify their devotions during several consecutive nights instead of one, and thus earn a greater reward from God.

183. Literally: "the seventh, the ninth and the fifth" without specifying the month; but many other authentic Traditions (*e.g.*, in *SB, The Book of Fasts*) amply bear out that the Prophet meant the last third of Ramaḍân. The knowledge among the Companions that the Night of Destiny is to be sought among the last ten nights of Ramaḍân was so common that they probably did not think it necessary to mention the word "twenty" when repeating this Tradition. The sequence of 27, 29 and 25 perhaps indicates the degree of probability regarding the date.

184. The Hour of Resurrection.

185. See subsequent Tradition.

186. See Tr. 53.

187. Regarding Al-Bukhârî's identification of *dîn* and *îmân*, see II, 21, 156. In this explanatory remark of his he repeats his mistake. As is evident from the end of this Tradition, the Prophet used the term *dîn* for a combination of three elements, namely, *îmân*, *islâm* and *iḥsân*; in Tr. 53 he defines *îmân* in almost the same terms as he used in Tr. 50 to define *islâm*; it is, therefore, only logical to conclude that *islâm*, in its spiritual meaning (sincere submission to the Will of God), is identical with *îmân* (*cf.* II, 23). *Dîn*, however, always refers to the entirety of religious tenets and postulates. Thus, *îmân*, as a postulate, is part of *dîn*; but *îmân*, as a reality *in se*, is but the way towards the acceptance of *dîn*. It is difficult to understand how a keen intellect like that of Al-Bukhârî overlooked the fact that it is not possible to force these most complicated (almost organic) phenomena into the pedantic scheme of a syllogism. On the whole, this pedantry, which was a delight and a very serious matter for the older schools of philosophy, does not contribute today to a deepening of religious thought in Islâm.

188. Q. iii, 85.

[The Prophet] said: "Faith is, to believe[189] in God and His angels and the meeting with Him and His Apostles; and to believe in the Resurrection."—He said: "What is Islâm?"—He said: "Islâm is, to worship God and to associate naught with Him, to observe prayer, to pay the obligatory sacred tax, and to fast during Ramaḍân."—He said: "What is sincerity in action?"—He said: "To worship God as if thou saw Him; for if thou dost not see Him, behold, He seeth thee."—He said: "When [will be] the Hour?"—He said: "He who is asked hath no more knowledge [about this] than he who asketh.[190] But I will tell thee its portents: when the slave-girl will give birth to her master, and when the obscure camel-herdsmen will erect high buildings.[191] There are five things which nobody knoweth save God." Then the Prophet recited [the Qur'ân-verse]: "Behold, with God is the knowledge of the Hour . . ."[192]

أن تؤمن بالله وملائكته وبلقائه ورسله وتؤمن بالبعث.» — قال: «ما الاسلام؟» — قال: «الاسلام أن تعبد الله ولا تشرك به وتقيم الصلاة وتؤدى الزكاة المفروضة وتصوم رمضان.» — قال: «ما الاحسان؟» — قال: «أن تعبد الله كأنك تراه، فان لم تكن تراه فانه يراك.» — قال: «متى الساعة؟» — قال: «ما المسؤل بأعلم من السائل؛ وسأخبرك عن أشراطها: اذا ولدت الأمة ربها واذ تطاول رعاة الابل البهم فى البنيان. فى خمس لا يعلمهن الا الله.» ثم تلا النبي [ص]: «ان الله عنده علم الساعة ...»

Then [the man] went away. And [the Prophet] said: "Bring him back!" But they saw naught [of him]. Then he said: "That [was] Gabriel; he came to teach people their religion."

ثم أدبر، فقال: «ردوه!» فلم يروا شيأ. فقال: «هذا جبريل، جاء يعلم الناس دينهم.»

Abû 'Abd Allâh[193] said: [The Prophet] defined all this as [elements] of the faith.

قال أبو عبدالله: جعل ذلك كله من الايمان *

189. *cf.* II, 24.

190. Thus the Prophet himself rejected the idea, so popular among certain Muslim schools of thought, that he was endowed with limitless knowledge of the future and the hidden (*'ilm al-ghaib*).

191. This prediction of the Prophet has in the past been frequently discussed; and the speculations as to its meaning are legion. Some commentators accepted it in its literal sense as predicting real, if isolated, events; others thought that in the period preceding the Hour there will be a general tendency towards parents' becoming slaves of their children, and ignorant nomads' actually dwelling in palaces. It seems to me, however, that the Prophet did not intend this to be a literal prediction: in these "portents" he gave us an extremely concise, symbolical picture of a time when all our social conceptions would be utterly confused and things incredible to-day would be common. Such an idea could hardly have been more poignantly expressed than by the symbolic image of a mother owned by her son as a slave, or of obscure nomads emerging from their deserts with a sudden taste for culture and the practical means of satisfying it. And as these two images are entirely different in their ethical aspects—the one expressing a loathsome debasement of human relations, the other the development of a hitherto helpless and insignificant part of humanity to a new, positive appreciation of culture and its values—so also the period before the Hour (and there is no idication as to its duration) will have good as well as bad traits. Its main characteristic, however, will be the complete reversion of all social conditions and conceptions.

192. Q. xxxi, 34.

193. *i. e.*, Al-Bukhârî.

SECTION XXXVIII

(٣٨) بـــاب

(51) Ibrâhîm ibn Ḥamzah related to us, saying: Ibrâhîm ibn Sa'd related to us, on the authority of Ṣâliḥ, on the authority of Ibn Shihâb, on the authority of 'Ubaid Allâh ibn 'Abd Allâh: 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abbâs told him, saying:[194]

ABÛ SUFYÂN told me that Heraclius said unto him: "I asked thee whether they[195] increase or decrease [in numbers]—and thou saidst that they increase; and such is [the case with] faith to the very end. And I asked thee whether any [of them] had turned apostate out of disgust with his religion after having embraced it—and thou saidst, no; and such is [the case with] faith: whenever its joy mergeth into the hearts, none gets disgusted with it."

(٥١) حدثنا ابراهيم بن حمزة قال: حدثنا ابراهيم بن سعد عن صالح عن ابن شهاب عن عبيد الله بن عبد الله أن عبد الله بن عباس أخبره قال:

أخبرنى أبو سفيان أن هرقل قال له: «سألتك هل يزيدون أم ينقصون — فزعمت أنهم يزيدون؛ وكذلك الايمان حتى يتم. وسألتك هل يرتد أحد سخطة لدينه بعد أن يدخل فيه — فزعمت أن لا؛ وكذلك الايمان حين تخالط بشاشته القلوب لا يسخطه أحد.»

SECTION XXXIX

(CONCERNING) THE MERIT OF HIM WHO KEEPETH HIMSELF ALOOF (FROM CERTAIN THINGS) FOR THE SAKE OF HIS RELIGION

(٣٩) بـــاب

فضل من استبرأ لدينه

(52) Abû Nu'aim related to us, saying: Zakariyyah related to us, on the authority of 'Âmir, who said: I heard An-Nu'mân ibn Bashîr say:

I HEARD the Apostle of God say: "The lawful is obvious and the forbidden is obvious; and between these two are the doubtful things, and not many may discern [the borders of] these. And whoso feareth the doubtful things, keepeth himself aloof [from them] for the sake of his religion and his honour. And whoso entereth the doubtful things is like unto a herdsman who grazeth his flocks in the vicinity of a reserve[196]:

(٥٢) حدثنا أبونعيم قال: حدثنا زكريا عن عامر قال: سمعت النعمان بن بشير يقول:

سمعت رسول الله [ص] يقول: «الحلال بين والحرام بين وبينهما مشبهات، لا يعلمها كثير من الناس. فمن اتقى المشبهات استبرأ لدينه وعرضه، ومن وقع فى الشبهات كراع يرعى حول الحمى، يوشك أن يواقعه؛ ألا وان لكل

194. The following is a part of a Tradition almost word for word identical with Tr. 7; the *isnâd* is here partly different. Al-Bukhârî's motive for repeating it here is Heraclius' view about faith and Prophethood, which he probably gained from the old Scriptures, and which is certainly representative of his time and his community.

195. *i.e.*, the followers of Muḥammad (*cf.* Tr. 7).

196. Such pasture grounds reserved for the use of royal herds to this day exist in Arabia. They are sometimes very extensive, but always only roughly demarcated by natural landmarks. Treespass by other herdsmen is generally punished by confiscation of their cattle unlawfully grazing in the reserve.

he may peradventure enter upon it. Now, behold, every king hath a reserve: and, behold, the reserve of God are the things He hath forbidden. And, behold, in the body there is a bit of flesh: if it is sound, the whole body is sound, and if it is diseased, the whole body is diseased;—now, behold, it is the heart."

ملك حمى، ألا ان حمى الله محارمه. ألا و ان فى الجسد مضغة، اذا صلحت صلح الجسد كله واذا فسدت فسد الجسد كله، ألا وهى القلب.»

SECTION XL

THE GIVING OF THE QUINT[197] IS (AN ACT) OF THE FAITH

(53) 'Alī ibn Ja'd related to us, saying: Shu'bah told us,

ON the authority of Abû Jamrah, who said: I used to visit Ibn 'Abbâs, and he would let me sit on his bed. Then he said: "Stay with me, and I shall give thee a portion of my possessions." And I stayed with him for two months. Thereafter he said:

"Behold, when the deputation of 'Abd al-Qais[198] came unto the Prophet, he said: 'Who are these people?'"

—or "Who are this deputation?[199]"—

"They said: 'Rabī'ah.[200]'—He said: 'Welcome unto these people'"

—or "unto this deputation"—

(٤٠) بـاب

أداء الخمس من الايمان

(٥٣) حدثنا على بن الجعد قال: أخبرنا شعبة

عن أبى جمرة قال: كنت أقعد مع ابن عباس يجلسنى على سريره فقال: «أقم عندى حتى أجعل لك سهماً من مالى.» فأقمت معه شهرين ثم قال:

«ان وفد عبد القيس لما أتوا النبى [ص] قال: «من القوم؟»

—أو «من الوفد»—

«قالوا: «ربيعة.» — قال: «مرحباً بالقوم»

—أو «بالوفد»—

197. i.e., one-fifth of all booty obtained in war, which must be handed over to the public treasury (cf. Q. viii, 41).

198. 'Abd al-Qais, or Banû 'Abd al-Qais, a tribe which belonged to the great tribal family of Rabī'ah (see II, 200) and which derived its name from its ancestor 'Abd al-Qais ibn Afṣā ibn Du'mī. Their dwelling places were in ancient Al-Baḥrain (to-day known as Al-Ḥasâ). They possessed several towns and fortified settlements, the most important of which was Hajar—a name sometimes applied to the whole country of Al-Baḥrain. Nothing conclusive is known about the religion of 'Abd al-Qais before Islâm; but it is almost certain that there were some Christians among them; this perhaps was due to the frequent intercourse between this tribe and the Christian-Arab principality of Al-Ḥīrah. According to An-Nawawī (Nw, Kitâb al-Imân), one Munqidh ibn Ḥabbân, of 'Abd al-Qais, used to trade in dates between his country and Yathrib. There he once met the Prophet and was converted by him to Islâm. The Prophet entrusted to him a letter to the tribe of 'Abd al-Qais in which he invited them to embrace Islâm. But Munqidh was afraid of his people and did not declare his Islâm openly for a very long time, until one day his wife surprised him at prayers and informed her father, Mundhir ibn 'Â'idh al-Ashajj, one of the chiefs of 'Abd al-Qais. Subsequently the elders of the tribe discussed the matter among themselves and decided to accept Islâm; and to that effect a deputation under the leadership of Mundhir al-Ashajj was sent to Al-Madīnah in the year 8 H.

The narrator of this Tradition, Abû Jamrah, belonged himself to the tribe of 'Abd al-Qais, and so Ibn 'Abbâs told him the story of the deputation to the Prophet.

199. This doubt as to which were the actual words of the Prophet is attributed to one of the narrators of this Tradition, Abû Jamrah or Shu'bah (most probably the latter, cf. FB i, 97).

200. Rabī'ah, a great group of northern Arab tribes tracing their origin to Rabī'ah ibn Nizâr, a descendant of 'Adnân. The tribe of 'Abd al-Qais belongs to this group.

"'[who come] without humiliation and without regret![201]'—They said: 'O Apostle of God, we are not able to come unto thee except during a sacred month,[202] because between us and thee there is this tribe of Unbelievers, Muḍar.[203] So bid us a definite thing,[204] that we might tell it to those we have left behind, and enter the Paradise with its help.' And they asked him about the [strong] drinks. Thereupon he bade them four things and forbade them four. He bade them to have faith in God alone, saying: 'Do ye know what is faith in God alone?'—They said: 'God and His Apostle know it best.'—He said: 'The testimony that there is no deity but God and that Muḥammad is the Apostle of God, and the observance of prayer, and the paying of the sacred tax, and the fast of Ramaḍân, and the giving of the quint of the booty.'[205] And he forbade them four things: the ewer, the gourd, the barrel of palm-wood and the vessel polished with resin[206].'"

غير خزايا ولا ندامى!» — قالوا: «يارسول
الله! انا لا نستطيع أن نأتيك الا فى الشهر
الحرام وبيننا وبينك هذا الحى من كفار مضر؛
فمرنا بأمر فصل نخبر به من وراءنا وندخل
به الجنة.» وسألوه عن الأشربة؛ فأمرهم
بأربع ونهاهم عن أربع. أمرهم بالايمان بالله
وحده قال: «أتدرون ما الايمان بالله وحده؟»
— قالوا: «الله ورسوله أعلم.» — قال: «شهادة
أن لا اله الا الله وأن محمداً رسول الله واقام
الصلاة وايتاء الزكاة وصيام رمضان وأن
تعطوا من المغنم الخمس.» ونهاهم عن أربع: عن
الحنتم و الدباء والنقير والمزفت»

201. The men of 'Abd al-Qais had accepted Islâm out of their free will, without having ever been at war with Muslims; they had not been constrained by political exigency nor tempted by expectations of worldly gain. They were, from the very beginning, ardent Muslims; this is borne out by the fact that (according to a Tradition quoted by the author in *The Book of Friday*) the first mosque—after the Prophet's mosque in Al-Madînah—where Friday-prayers were said and a sermon was delivered was the mosque of 'Abd al-Qais at Al-Juwâthâ, a fortified town in Al-Baḥrain.

202. In the text: during *the* sacred month. The pre-Islâmic Arabs held four months sacred, namely, Muḥarram, Rajab, Dhû 'l-Qa'dah and Dhû 'l-Ḥijjah; and during these months no fight was allowed and all blood-feuds had to be suspended. It is clear that the deputation meant all the four sacred months, because it was then safe for them to proceed through enemy's territory to Al-Madînah. Therefore, I have translated it into "a sacred month" to express the generalisation of this term.

203. Muḍar, another great group of 'Adnânî tribes descended from Muḍar ibn Nizâr, a brother of Rabî'ah (see II, 200). They inhabited a great part of Najd, halfway between Al-Madînah and Al-Baḥrain. Their traditional enmity with the Rabî'ah-group, to which the tribe of 'Abd al-Qais belonged, was almost proverbial.

204. *i.e.*, a commandment which would definitely show them the right path, so that they would not need often to come to the Prophet for enlightenment.

205. In reality, the Prophet gave them five and not four commandments; but one of these, namely, the formula of faith, was no new commandment to them because they were already Muslims; so Ibn Abbâs was justified in speaking only of four. The Prophet re-iterated the formula of faith to them in order to show that the four new commandments are subordinated to the basic doctrine of the Oneness of God and the Prophethood of Muḥammad. The omission of *ḥajj* among these commandments is due either to a lapse of memory on the part of one of the narrators or to the fact that the Prophet thought it would be extremely difficult for the people of 'Abd al-Qais to perform the pilgrimage in face of the enmity of the Muḍar-tribes who occupied the territory between Al-Baḥrain and Al-Ḥijâz.

206. The Arabs in pre-Islâmic times used these four kinds of vessels for making and keeping wine; and so the Prophet figuratively used their names for wine itself. *Al-ḥantam* was a ewer or jar made of earthenware with hair and animal blood. The dried and hollowed-out gourd (*ad-dubbâ'*) was used by the people of aṭ-Ṭâ'if who would fill it with grapes and then bury it in the earth until its contents fermented. *An-naqîr* was a barrel made of hollowed-out palm-stems in which date-wine was made in Al-Yaman. *Al-muzaffat* was a wooden vessel polished and made watertight with resin (*Musnad* of Abu Dâ'ûd aṭ-Ṭayâlisî, *apud FB* i, 100).

—or, perhaps, he[207] said: "the vessel polished with tar"—
"And he said: 'Remember these [commandments] and tell them to those you have left behind.'"

—وربما قال: «المقير»—
وقال: «احفظوهن وأخبروا بهن من وراءكم.»

SECTION XLI

(٤١) بـاب

CONCERNING (THE SAYINGS): "ACTIONS ARE (JUDGED) ACCORDING TO THE INTENTION AND THE LOVE OF GOD (WHICH PROMPTED THEM); AND UNTO EVERY MAN IS DUE WHAT HE INTENDED."

ما جاء ان الأعمال بالنية والحسبة ولكل امرئ ما نوى

And this applieth to faith, the ablution, the prayer, the sacred tax, the pilgrimage to Mecca, the fasting and [all other] commandments. And God, the Most High, said: "Say: Everyone acteth in his own way"[208]—[that is,] according to his intention. Man's spending on his family for the love of God[209] [will be accounted] a work of charity. And the Prophet said: "... but [there remain] jihâd and intention."[210]

فدخل فيه الايمان والوضوء والصلاة والزكاة والحج والصوم والأحكام وقال الله تعالى: «قل كل يعمل على شاكلته» —على نيته. ونفقة الرجل على أهله يحتسبها صدقة. وقال النبي [ص]: «... ولكن جهاد ونية»

(54) 'Abd Allâh ibn Maslamah related to us, saying: Mâlik told us, on the authority of Yaḥyâ ibn Sa'îd, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Ibrâhîm, on the authority of 'Alqamah ibn Waqqâṣ, on the authority of 'Umar:

THE Apostle of God said: "The actions are [judged] according to the intention; and unto every man is due what he intended. Thence, whoso migrateth for the sake of God and His Apostle, his migration is [accounted] for the sake of God and His Apostle; and whoso migrateth for the sake of this world or to wed a woman, his migration is [accounted] for that unto which he migrated."

(٥٤) حدثنا عبد الله بن مسلمة قال: أخبرنا مالك عن يحيى بن سعيد عن محمد بن ابراهيم عن علقمة بن وقاص عن عمر

أن رسول الله [ص] قال: «الأعمال بالنية، ولكل امرئ ما نوى. فمن كانت هجرته الى الله ورسوله فهجرته الى الله ورسوله، ومن كانت هجرته لدنيا يصيبها أو امرأة يتزوجها فهجرته الى ما هاجر اليه.»

(55) Ḥajjâj ibn Minhâl related to us, saying: Shu'bah related to us, saying: 'Adî ibn Thâbit told me, saying: I heard [this Tradition from] 'Abd Allâh ibn Yazîd, on the authority of Abû Mas'ûd,

ON the authority of the Prophet, who said: "If a man spendeth on his family for the love of God,[211] it will be [accounted] a work of charity."

(٥٥) حدثنا حجاج بن منهال قال: حدثنا شعبة قال: أخبرني عدي بن ثابت قال: سمعت عبد الله بن يزيد عن أبي مسعود

عن النبي [ص] قال: «اذا أنفق الرجل على أهله يحتسبها فهو له صدقة.»

207. See II, 199.

208. Q. xvii, 84.

209. i.e., in sincere recognition of one's moral duties.

210. This is a fragment of a Tradition on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs, quoted by the author in *The Book of Jihâd*; it emphasises the value of intention, the subject of this Section.

211. See II, 209.

(56) Al-Ḥakam ibn Nâfi' related to us, saying: Shu'aib told us, on the authority of Az-Zuhrî, who said: 'Âmir ibn Sa'd related to me, on the authority of Sa'd ibn abî Waqqâṣ, who told him:

THE Prophet said: "Behold, thou spendest naught for the love of God but shalt be rewarded for it—even for the morsel thou puttest into the mouth of thy wife."

(٥٦) حدثنا الحكم بن نافع قال: أخبرنا شعيب عن الزهري قال: حدثني عامر بن سعد عن سعد بن أبي وقاص أنه أخبره

أن رسول الله [ص] قال: «إنك لن تنفق نفقة تبتغي بها وجه الله إلا أجرت عليها— حتى ما تجعل في فم امرأتك.»

SECTION XLII

(٤٢) بـاب

THE SAYING OF THE PROPHET: "RELIGION CONSISTETH IN LOYALTY UNTO GOD, HIS PROPHET, THE LEADERS OF THE MUSLIMS, AND THE MUSLIMS ON THE WHOLE."

And the Word of the Most High: "... if they are loyal unto God and His Apostle."[212]

قول النبي [ص]: «الدين النصيحة لله ولرسوله ولأئمة المسلمين وعامتهم.»

وقوله تعالى: «إذا نصحوا لله ورسوله.»

(57) Musaddad related to us, saying: Yaḥyâ related to us, on the authority of Ismâ'îl, who said: Qais ibn abî Ḥâzim related to us,

ON the authority of Jarîr ibn 'Abd Allâh, who said: I pledged unto the Apostle of God observance of prayer, paying of the sacred tax, and loyalty toward all Muslims.

(٥٧) حدثنا مسدد قال: حدثنا يحيى عن إسمعيل قال: حدثني قيس بن أبي حازم

عن جرير بن عبد الله قال: بايعت رسول الله [ص] على إقام الصلاة وإيتاء الزكاة والنصح لكل مسلم.

(58) Abû 'n-Nu'mân related to us, saying: Abû 'Awânah related to us, on the authority of Zaid ibn 'Ilâqah, who said:

I HEARD Jarîr ibn 'Abd Allâh speak on the day Al-Mughîrah ibn Shu'bah died.[213] He rose and praised God and glorified Him, and said: "Incumbent upon you is to fear God alone Who hath no partner, and [to maintain] dignity and quiet until a [new] governor cometh unto you; and, behold, he soon will come unto you." Thereafter he said: "Ask forgiveness of God for your [dead] governor, for, behold, he [himself] loved to forgive."

Then he said: "And furthermore: "Behold, I came unto the Prophet and said: 'I

(٥٨) حدثنا أبو النعمان قال: حدثنا أبو عوانة عن زياد بن علاقة قال:

سمعت جرير بن عبدالله يقول يوم مات المغيرة بن شعبة، قام فحمد الله وأثنى عليه وقال: «عليكم باتقاء الله وحده لا شريك له والوقار والسكينة حتى يأتيكم أمير، فإنما يأتيكم الآن.» ثم قال: «استعفوا لأميركم فإنه كان يحب العفو.»

ثم قال: «أما بعد: فإني أتيت النبي [ص]

212. Q. ix, 91.

213. Al-Mughîrah ibn Shu'bah was governor of Al-Kûfah during the reign of Mu'âwiyah; he died in the year 50 H. On his death-bed he appointed Jarîr ibn 'Abd Allâh to act as his deputy until the arrival of the new governor. To prevent unrest among the populace of Al-Kûfah, Jarîr delivered thus sermon from the pulpit of the mosque.

will pledge unto thee my allegiance to Islâm.' Then the Prophet prescribed unto me [the duties of Islâm], and [among them] loyalty toward all Muslims; and thus I pledged unto him.[214] By the Lord of this mosque! Behold, I give you a loyal advice indeed." Then he asked forgiveness of God, and descended [from the pulpit].

قلت: «أبايعك على الاسلام.» — فشرط عليّ والنصح لكل مسلم، فبايعته على هذا. ورب هذا المسجد! انى لناصح لكم.» ثم استغفر ونزل.

214 *cf* Tr 57.

SYNOPSIS

OF

"THE BOOK OF FAITH"

FIFTY-ONE TRADITIONS

Quoted, in full or in part, in the following compilations:

(K. stands for "Kitâb"; A. for "Abwâb")

Tradition	Compilation	Reference
Tr. 8:	SB	K. al-îmân, K. at-tafsîr
	SM	K. al-îmân
	T	A. al-îmân
	MIH	ii. 26, iv. 363, 364
Tr. 9	SB	K. al-îmân
	SM	K. al-îmân
	N	K. al-îmân
	T	A. al-îmân
	AD	K. as-sunnah
	IM	A. as-sunnah
	MIH	ii. 379, 414, 445
Tr. 10:	SB	K. al-îmân, K. ar-riqâq
	SM	K. al-îmân
	N	K. al-îmân
	T	A. al-îmân
	AD	K. al-îmân
	MIH	ii. 163, 212, 224, 379; iii. 154
Tr. 11:	SB	K. al-îmân
	SM	K. al-îmân
	N	K. al-îmân
	T	A. az-zuhd
	MIH	ii. 209
Tr. 12:	SB	K. al-îmân, K. al-isti'dhân
	SM	K. al-îmân
	N	K. al-îmân
	AD	K. al-adab
	IM	A. al-at'imah
	MIH	ii. 169
Tr. 13:	SB	K. al-îmân
	SM	K. al-îmân
	N	K. al-îmân
	MIH	iii. 176
Tr. 14:	SB	K. al-îmân
	SM	K. al-îmân
	N	K. al-îmân
	MIH	iii. 177
Tr. 15:	SB	K. al-îmân
	SM	K. al-îmân
	N	K. al-îmân
	MIH	iii. 177
Tr. 16:	SB	K. al-îmân, K. al-adab
	SM	K. al-îmân
	N	K. al-îmân
	T	A. al-îmân
	MIH	iii. 103, 172, 174
Tr. 17:	SB	K. al-îmân, K. al-anbiyâ'
	SM	K. al-îmân
	N	K. al-îmân
	MIH	iii. 130, 134, 249
Tr. 18:	SB	K. al-îmân, K. al-maghâzî, K. al-wufûd, K. al-ḥudûd, K. al-aḥkâm
	SM	K. al-ḥudûd
	N	K. al-îmân
	T	A. al-ḥudûd
	MIH	v. 313, 314
Tr. 19:	SB	K. al-îmân, K. al-fitan, K. ar-riqâq, K. al-anbiyâ'
	N	K. al-îmân
	AD	K. al-fitan
	MM	Al-isti'dhân
	MIH	iii. 6, 30
Tr. 20	SB	K. al-îmân
	MIH	vi. 51, 56
Tr. 21:	SB	K. al-îmân, K. al-adab
	SM	K. al-îmân
	N	K. al-îmân
	T	A. al-îmân
	MIH	iii. 103, 174

Tr. 22: SB K. al-īmān, K. bad' al-khalq
SM K. al-īmān
N K. al-īmān
MIH iii. 56, 173

Tr. 23: SB K. al-īmān, K. bad' al-khalq, K. at-tafsīr, K. at-ta'bīr
SM K. al-faḍā'il
N K. al-īmān
T A. ar-ru'yā
MIH iii, 86

Tr. 24: SB K. al-īmān, K. al-adab
SM K. al-īmān
N K. al-īmān
T A. al-īmān
AD K. al-adab
MM K. al-jāmi'
MIH ii, 9

Tr. 25: SB K. al-īmān, K. aṣ-ṣalāh
SM K. al-īmān
N K. al-īmān
T A. al-īmān
MIH i. 19, 48; ii. 345, 377; iii. 224

Tr. 26: SB K. al-īmān
SM K. al-īmān
N K. al-īmān
T A. al-jihād
MIH ii. 264, 348, 475; v. 163

Tr. 27: SB K. al-īmān, K. az-zakāh
SM K. al-īmān
N K. al-īmān
MIH i. 176

Tr. 28: SB K. al-īmān, K. al-isti'dhān
SM K. al-īmān
N K. al-īmān
AD K. al-adab
IM A. al-aṭ'imah
MIH ii. 169

Tr. 29: SB K. al-īmān, K. al-'ilm, K. aṣ-ṣalāh, K. bad' al-khalq
SM K. ṣalāt al 'īdain, K. al-kusūf
T A. al-īmān
MIH i. 376, 423, 425

Tr. 30: SB K. al-īmān, K. al-'itq, K. al-adab
SM K. al-aimān wa 'n-nudhūr
T A. al-birr wa 'ṣ-ṣilah
MIH v. 158, 161

Tr. 31: SB K. al-īmān, K. al-fitan
SM K. al-fitan
MIH v. 41, 43, 47, 48, 51

Tr. 32: SB K. al-īmān, K. at-tafsīr, K. istitābat al-murtaddīn
SM K. al-īmān
MIH i. 378, 424

Tr. 33: SB K. al-īmān, K. ash-shahādāt, K. al-adab
SM K. al-īmān
N K. al-īmān
T A. al-īmān
MIH ii, 357, 536

Tr. 34: SB K. al-īmān, K. al-jizyah
SM K. al-īmān
N K. al-īmān
T A. al-īmān
MIH ii. 189

Tr. 35: SB K. al-īmān, K. aṣ-ṣawm
SM K. aṣ-ṣalāh
N K. al-īmān, K. qiyām al-lail
T A. aṣ-ṣawm
AD K. aṣ-ṣalāh
MIH ii. 408, 473

Tr. 36: SB K. al-īmān, K. al-jihād
SM K. al-jihād
N K. al-īmān
MM K. al-jihād
MIH ii. 384, 399, 494

Tr. 37: SB K. al-īmān, K. aṣ-ṣawm
SM K. aṣ-ṣalāh
N K. al-īmān, K. qiyām al-lail
T A. aṣ-ṣawm
AD K. aṣ-ṣalāh
MM Al-'amal fī 'l-qirā'ah
MIH ii. 408, 423, 473, 486

Tr. 38: SB K. al-īmān
SM K. aṣ-ṣalāh
N K. al-īmān, K. qiyām al-lail
T A. aṣ-ṣawm
AD K. aṣ-ṣalāh
MIH ii. 385, 503

Tr. 39 SB K. al-īmān, K. ar-riqāq
N K. al-īmān

Tr. 40:	SB	K. al-īmān, K. aṣ-ṣalāh, K. at-tafsīr
	SM	K. aṣ-ṣalāh
	N	K. aṣ-ṣalāh, K. at-tafsīr
	MIH	iv. 304
Tr. 41:	SB	K. al-īmān
	SM	K. al-īmān
	N	K. al-īmān
	MIH	i. 227
Tr. 42:	SB	K. al-īmān
	SM	K. al-īmān
	MIH	ii. 411
Tr. 43:	SB	K. al-īmān, K. aṣ-ṣalāh
	SM	K. aṣ-ṣalāh
	N	K. al-īmān
	AD	K. aṣ-ṣalāh
	IM	A. az-zuhd
	MM	Al-'amal fi 'l-qirā'ah
	MIH	ii. 350
Tr. 44	SB	K. al-īmān, K. at-tawḥīd
	SM	K. al-īmān
	N	K. al-īmān
	T	A. ṣifat jahannam
	MIH	iii. 173
Tr. 45:	SB	K. al-īmān, K. al-maghāzī, K. at-tafsīr
	SM	K. at-tafsīr
	N	K. al-īmān, K. al-ḥajj
	T	A. at-tafsīr
	MIH	i. 28, 39
Tr. 46:	SB	K. al-īmān, K. aṣ-ṣawm, K. ash-shahādāt
	SM	K. al-īmān
	N	K. al-īmān
	MIH	i. 162
Tr. 47:	SB	K. al-īmān
	SM	K. al-janā'iz
	N	K. al-īmān
	T	A. al-janā'iz
	MIH	ii. 430, 470, 493; iii. 20
Tr. 48:	SB	K. al-īmān, K. al-adab
	SM	K. al-īmān
	N	K. al-muḥāribah
	T	A. al-birr wa 'ṣ-ṣilah, A. al-īmān
	MIH	i. 176, 411, 417, 433, 454
Tr. 49:	SB	K. al-īmān, K. aṣ-ṣawm, K. al-adab
	SM	K. aṣ-ṣiyām
	N	K. qiyām al-lail
	MM	K. aṣ-ṣiyām
	MIH	i. 259; v. 313
Tr. 50:	SB	K. al-īmān, K. az-zakāh, K. at-tafsīr
	SM	K. al-īmān
	N	K. al-īmān, K. al-'ilm
	T	A. al-īmān
	AD	K. as-sunnah
	IM	A. as-sunnah
	MIH	i. 27, 51, 53; ii. 426
Tr. 51:	SB	Bad' al-waḥī, K. al-īmān, K. al-'ilm, K. al-jihād, K. at-tafsīr, K. ash-shahādāt, K. al-jizyah, K. al-adab, K. al-maghāzī, K. al-isti'dhān, K. al-aḥkām
	SM	K. al-maghāzī
	N	K. at-tafsīr
	T	A. al-isti'dhān
	AD	K. al-adab
Tr. 52:	SB	K. al-īmān, K. al-buyū'
	SM	K. al-buyū'
	N	K. al-buyū'
	T	A. al-buyū'
	IM	A. al-fitan
	MIH	iv. 267
Tr. 53:	SB	K. al-īmān, K. al-'ilm, K. aṣ-ṣalāh, K. az-zakāh, K. al-maghāzī, K. al-adab, [K. at-tawḥīd
	SM	K. al-īmān, K. al-ashribah
	N	K. al-īmān, K. al-'ilm
	T	A as-siyar, A. al-īmān
	AD	K. al-ashribah
	MIH	i. 228; ii. 355; iv. 206
Tr. 54:	SB	Bad' al-waḥī, K. al-īmān, K. al-'itq, Hijrat an-Nabī, K. an-nikāḥ, K. al-aimān wa 'n-nudhūr, K. al-ḥiyal
	SM	K. al-jihād
	N	K. al-īmān, K. aṭ-ṭahārah, K. aṭ-ṭalāq, [K. al-'itāq
	T	A. al-ḥudūd
	AD	K. aṭ-ṭalāq
	IM	A. az-zuhd
	MIH	i. 25, 43
Tr. 55:	SB	K. al-īmān, K. al-maghāzī, K. an-nafaqāt
	SM	K. az-zakāh
	N	K. az-zakāh
	T	A. al-birr wa 'ṣ-ṣilah
	MIH	v. 273

Tr.	Source	References
Tr. 56:	SB	K. al-îmân, K. al-janâ'iz, K. bad'al-khalq, K. al-maghâzî, K. aṭ-ṭibb, K. al-farâ'iḍ, [K. ad-da'wât
	SM	K. al-waṣâyâ
	MIH	i. 168, 173, 176
Tr. 57:	SB	K. al-îmân, K. aṣ-ṣalâh, K. al-buyû', [K. ash-shurûṭ
	SM	K. al-îmân
	T	A. al-bai'ah, A. al-birr wa 'ṣ-ṣilah
	MIH	iv. 357, 358, 361, 363, 364, 365, 366
Tr. 58:	SB	K. al-îmân, K. ash-shurûṭ
	SM	K. al-îmân
	N	K. al-bai'ah, K. as-siyar, K. ash-shurûṭ
	MIH	iv. 357, 358, 361, 364, 365, 366.

In the preceding chapter Traditions were quoted dealing with a fundamental aspect of Muḥammad's message, namely, its Divine origin. This chapter deals with man's positive attitude towards that message, that is, Faith. The ideologies of religion are, in themselves, abstract conceptions, resembling a codex of laws before its application to life and its conditions. It is this application alone which transforms an ideological postulate into an organising force of life. The concrete reality of religion does not begin with the Divine enunciation of laws (Revelation) but with the reaction of human beings towards it; it begins at the moment of man's acceptance of the postulates as objectively true and morally binding; that is, it begins with Faith. Faith, not Law, is the foundation stone of religion; and Faith, not Law, is the creative force in it. The laws of religion are but formative: their purpose is to guide the creative force of faith into constructive channels and to shape man's thoughts and deeds so as to enable him to improve his spiritual faculties and to contribute his full share towards the progress, moral and material, of his fellow-beings.

It is not within our scope to attempt here a definition of faith. In the explanatory notes on this chapter the sheer impossibility of such a definition has again and again been expressed. Faith, like Truth, has unfathomable depths and innumerable facets. It is an elemental movement full of changes, a perplexing combination of feeling, knowledge, desire, impulse, and many a psychical phenomenon inexpressible in language. Within a human soul, faith is influenced and moulded not only by outward circumstances but also by the incommensurable reaction of its elements upon one another. This complexity of faith is evident from the Traditions of *The Book of Faith* and from Al-Bukhârî's explanations. It cannot be said that he had consciously appreciated the full intricacy of this extraordinary manifestation of the human spirit; this is hardly to be expected of the exponent of an epoch which had no particular inclination for investigating and analysing the psychology of the human mind. But he understood—and this was a great step forward—that it is impossible to approach this problem with a clear-cut intellectual definition, because the phenomenon of faith is not stationary but essentially dynamic ("increasing and decreasing").

In this respect Al-Bukhârî categorically differs from schools of thought like the *Murji'ah* (see II, 2), who restricted faith to mere belief in heart and thus divorced it from its outward manifestation, that is, action. The unavoidable consequence of such a restriction would be the elimination from Islâm of one of its most fundamental features, namely, its concern with the practical life of man and society. Had the *Murji'ah*, who at the time of Al-Bukhârî possessed considerable influence, succeeded in impressing their ideas on the Muslim mind, Islâm would have rapidly assumed the role of present-day Christianity, in which belief and worship are entirely dissociated from the realities of life. The influence of the *Murji'ah* has been destroyed by the work of Al-Bukhârî, which proves that action is not an accessory of faith but its indispensable element; but if the *Murji'ah* as such are only a historical reminiscence, their idea has out-lived them and can be encountered to-day in many doctrinal disguises among different schools of Islâmic thought. It is this idea that has cost the World of Islâm so much of its virility and has reduced religion to a mere lip-profession.

The opposite extreme of the views of the *Murji'ah* is represented by the *Khârijiyah*, who maintain that even the slightest disobedience to the commandments of religion destroys faith in its entirety and makes man an unbeliever (*kâfir*). This exaggeration has not less a paralysing effect on the moral progress of Islâm than the laxity of the *Murji'ah*, because it tends to develop a Pharisaical attitude of mind. If the *Murji'ah* restrict faith to mere belief, the *Khârijiyah* restrict it to mere outward manifestation; and both are inimical to the very spirit of Islâm with its unique co-ordination of belief, profession, and action. And, precisely as is the case with the *Murji'ah*, the views of the *Khârijiyah* are to be found to-day not only in the few scattered groups bearing that name, but in the attitude of many doctrinaires of all denominations, for whom the observance of appearances is more essential than the spirit and the purpose of religion.

The Book of Faith, with the mosaic-like arrangement of its sections and the explanations (*tarājim al-abwāb*) given by the author, is conceived as a polemical weapon against those two tendencies. The sections i, ii, xxv—xxviii, xxxiv—xl, are so many arguments against the *Murji'ah*. They show that the Prophet himself regarded action as an indispensable part of faith, that is, as something without which the latter is not complete. On the other side, transgressions or even sins (with the exception of the ascribing of partners to God) do not necessarily destroy faith, as the *Khārijīyah* thought. The arguments against them are contained in the sections xx (showing that not every *kufr* is equivalent to unbelief in the theological sense of the word—*cf.* II, 92), xxi—xxiii, xxxi (which shows that even a sincere Muslim is not supposed to be free of sins), xxxviii, and xli.

But the polemic against the *Khārijīyah* and *Murji'yah*, important as it is, is not the sole purport of this chapter. The positive qualities required of a Muslim are shown in many Traditions, and particularly in the sections ii—viii, which expound the idea of the brotherhood of the Faithful under the supreme leadership of the Last Prophet. The intensely practical character of Islâm is perhaps nowhere illustrated with such a lucidity as in Tr. 12, in which the Prophet describes the giving of food as the best act of Islâm. Thus, the providing of means of livelihood to our fellow-beings is elevated to a primary religious obligation; and before trying to "save the soul" of our hungry brother, we must give him to eat, so that he may live and be able to worship God, the Giver of Life. The practical goal of the Islâmic *sharī'ah* is the construction of social conditions in which all individuals will find equal opportunities for their spiritual and material development. This practical, social purpose of the *sharī'ah* gives the Muslims the moral right to strive for its establishment in the world. The Prophet said (Tr. 25): "I have been bidden to fight people until they bear witness that there is no deity but God and that Muḥammad is the Apostle of God . . . " Adversaries of Islâm see in this Tradition a proof of their allegation that Islâm is bent upon propagation of religion with the sword, that is, upon forcing the recognition of its fundamentals on non-believers under the threat of death or humiliation. Nothing is further from truth than this: for the use of force in those early days of Islâm had for its object not the spreading of *beliefs*, but the establishment of certain social conditions regarded as beneficial to all. As to beliefs, the liberty of conscience is authoritatively laid down in the Qur'ân:

«لا اكراه فى الدين»

"There is no compulsion in religion (*Sûrah* ii, 256)"

—and is, moreover, clearly expressed in other Traditions bearing on the same subject (*cf.* II, 74). None can be forced to believe anything against his convictions. But if Muslims believe that the social system of Islâm is the most favourable for the moral and material development of mankind, they are morally obliged to work, as hardly as they can, for its establishment throughout the world. The Christian Inquisition of the Middle Ages tried forcibly to convert people to Christianity so that their souls might be saved; but Islâm tries to secure only the working of a social system which, by its very equity and reasonableness, may enable non-Muslims living within its realm gradually to recognise and *voluntarily* to accept the spiritual values of Islâm as well. "And this" (I am quoting from my book, *Islâm at the Crossroads*) "is the moral justification of the aggressive activism of Islâm, the justification of the early Islâmic conquests and its so-called 'Imperialism.' For Islâm *is* 'imperialist,' if we must use this term; but this kind of Imperialism is not prompted by love of domination, it has nothing to do with economic or national selfishness, nothing with the greed to increase our own comforts at other people's cost, nor has it ever meant the coercion of non-believers into the belief of Islâm. It has only meant, as it means to-day, the construction of a worldly frame for the best possible spiritual development of man. Moral knowledge, according to the teachings of Islâm, automatically forces moral responsibility upon man. A mere Platonic discernment between Right and Wrong, without the urge to promote the Right and to destroy the Wrong, is a gross immorality in itself. In Islâm, morality lives and dies with the human endeavour to establish its victory upon earth." Muslims have certainly no more reason to be ashamed of the use of force during their past history than the nations of the West who forcibly suppress immoral traffic in women, drug traffic, exploitation of labour or the cremation of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands. In both cases the use of force can be justified by the moral conviction that it is meant for the best of humanity. The changed conditions of life in the present age, the widening of knowledge, the improvement of communications, newspapers, the increasing mutual understanding of nations:—all these factors may, perhaps, gradually eliminate the necessity of employing force in the service of social reform, and may replace the sword by intellectual persuasion. But the fact remains that the sword of Islâm has very considerably contributed to the moral and material progress of mankind; and it is not for Muslims to apologise for their ancestors who took it up in the service of humanity.—

In the fifty-one Traditions of *The Book of Faith*, and in Al-Bukhârî's *tarâjim al-abwâb*, faith and religion are shown as possessed of many aspects, all leading towards a unity of Idea and Action, so sublimely anticipated in the ethical and practical programme of Islâm. For Islâm does not content itself with the shaping of man's spiritual disposition, but shows to him also the way of practically projecting this disposition into the outward formation of life and society. As life is two-sided, spiritual and material, so there must exist for each abstract (ethical or metaphysical) postulate of religion a concrete counterpart in the form of a practical-social proposition. This golden rule of the Islâmic *sharî'ah* has often been misunderstood by non-Muslims, particularly Christians, who think that there is too much "materialism" in Islâm. They have grown accustomed to regard religion from a purely transcendental point of view, and to dissociate "the spirit" from the material exigencies of human life. In Islâm, spirit and matter cannot be so neatly separated with regard to their functions, as is done in Christianity. The so-called "materialism" of the *sharî'ah* is nothing but a recognition of the complex quality of life. In other words, Islâm does not regard the world of matter as accidental, but as part of a God-willed totality; and there can be no reality in religion unless it succeeds in co-ordinating spirit and matter, volition and nature, belief and social necessity, into one harmonious whole. This co-ordination of all realities of life is the greatest achievement of Islâm.

